

JPRS 71911-4

1 November 1978

COLLECTED WORKS OF MAO TSE-TUNG  
(1917 - 1949)  
VOLUMES 5-6

CHINA

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Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available through Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio, 44691.

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<b>BIBLIOGRAPHIC DATA SHEET</b>		1. Report No. JPRS 71911-4	2.	3. Recipient's Accession No.
4. Title and Subtitle  COLLECTED WORKS OF MAO TSE-TUNG (1917-1949), Vols 5-6			5. Report Date 1 November 1978	
			6.	
7. Author(s)			8. Performing Organization Rept. No.	
9. Performing Organization Name and Address Joint Publications Research Service 1000 North Glebe Road Arlington, Virginia 22201			10. Project/Task/Work Unit No.	
			11. Contract/Grant No.	
12. Sponsoring Organization Name and Address  As above			13. Type of Report & Period Covered	
			14.	
15. Supplementary Notes MAO TSE-TUNG CHI, Hong Kong, 1975				
16. Abstracts  This report contains selected speeches, articles, essays, reports, letters, interviews, declarations, decrees, telegrams, poems, inscriptions of Mao Tse-tung covering a multitude of subjects.				
17. Key Words and Document Analysis. 17a. Descriptors  PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA Behavioral and Social Science Political Mao Tse-tung				
17b. Identifiers/Open-Ended Terms				
17c. COSATI Field/Group 05				
18. Availability Statement Unlimited Availability Sold by NTIS Springfield, Virginia 22151			19. Security Class (This Report) UNCLASSIFIED	
			20. Security Class (This Page) UNCLASSIFIED	
			21. No. of Pages 236	
			22. Price PCPII MFA01	

1 November 1978

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Hong Kong MAO TSE-TUNG CHI in Chinese, Vols 1-10, Oct 1975

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## ANTI-JAPANESE DECLARATION FOR NATIONAL SALVATION

28 November 1935

[Text] Declaration to Resist Japan and Save the Nation issued by the Central Government of the Soviet People's Republic of China and the Revolutionary Military Commission of the Resist-Japan Red Army of China

Workers, peasants, soldiers, students, free lances, merchants, industrialists, the Northeast Revolutionary Army, the Northeast Volunteer Army, officers and soldiers of all armed units, and fervent determined patriots!

After the four northeast provinces, comes the loss of North China, half of the nation. Wishing to turn all the Chinese people into stateless slaves and all of China into a colony, the Japanese imperialist bandits, after annexing the four northeast provinces, are now swallowing all of North China, and even all of China.

Confronted with the destruction of the nation and extinction of the race, the Chinese people absolutely will not await death with their hands tied. Only by a general mobilization of the army, navy, and air force and the people of all of China for a sacred anti-Japanese national revolutionary war, in order to knock down Japanese imperialism and exterminate the biggest traitor in China since the beginning of history, will the nation of China gain a final and complete liberation.

The Central Government of the Soviet People's Republic of China and the Revolutionary Military Commission of the Resist-Japan Red Army of China have continuously appealed to the people of the entire nation to unite and wage war against Japan. They sent the main force of their own Red Army on a long expedition of 25,000 li, undergoing all kinds of hardships to fight Japan in the North. The situation has become even more urgent. Now is the time to ask the people of the entire nation to contribute their strength, money, guns, and knowledge, to unite, to struggle, and to confront the common enemies of the Chinese people with an unwavering determination; therefore, the Central Government of the Soviet

People's Republic of China and the Revolutionary Military Commission of the Resist-Japan Red Army of China do hereby declare to the people of the entire nation that, regardless of the political factions, armed units, social organizations, or individual classes, as long as they are willing to resist Japan, we will not only be willing to form a resist-Japan combat agreement with them, but also organize with them a resist-Japan coalition army and a national defense government. For the resist-Japan coalition army and the national defense government, we find the following 10 major outlines necessary.

- (1) Confiscate all the assets of Japanese imperialism in China for resist-Japan expenses.
- (2) Confiscate the land and assets of traitors and spies and divide them among the workers, peasants, and disasters victims and refugees.
- (3) Relieve disasters and control flood; settle the people's living.
- (4) Abolish all harsh levies and vexatious taxes; develop industry and commerce.
- (5) Raise wages and rations; improve the living standards of workers, soldiers, and teachers.
- (6) Develop education; relieve students unable to attend school.
- (7) Realize democratic rights; release all political prisoners.
- (8) Develop production technology; relieve jobless intellectuals.
- (9) Rally the workers and peasants of Korea, Taiwan, and Japan and all anti-Japanese strength to form a firm alliance.
- (10) Establish close, friendly relations with nations or states expressing sympathy for China's resist-Japan national movement or maintaining a friendly neutrality.

The Central Government of the Soviet People's Republic of China and the Revolutionary Military Commission of the Resist-Japan Red Army of China appeal to the people of the entire nation to support our proposal and immediately send delegates to discuss the concrete measures. We believe that, as long as we can realize this proposal with one mind and by concerted effort, the final victory is ours.

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Government of the  
Soviet People's Republic of China

Chu Teh, Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Commission  
of the Resist-Japan Red Army of China

28 November 1935

- ° "On the United Front--Our Proposal to Resist Japan and Save the Nation  
in the Past Year" mimeographed (→ hand copied), January 1937

6080

CSO: 4005

ORDER NO 2 OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT OF THE  
CHINESE SOVIET REPUBLIC

15 December 1935

[Text] In view of the active aggression by Japanese imperialism and the urgency of China's situation, the workers, peasants, and patriots of the entire nation are actively participating in the national revolutionary struggle and resisting the Japanese aggressors and their running dogs, Chiang Kai-shek and his gang. As a result of the rule of traitor Chiang Kai-shek and others, China's economy has sunk into a hopeless state, especially the rural economy, and the peasants of the entire nation have risen to resist and riot. The rich peasants have changed their attitude of hostility toward the soviet revolution and begun to show sympathy for the anti-imperialist and land revolutionary struggles. To expand the national revolutionary front to resist Japan and punish Chiang, the Soviet Central Committee has decided to revise the policy on the rich peasants.

(A) In regard to the land of the rich peasants, except the portion leased to tenants at a feudalistic high rent which must be confiscated similar to the land of the landlords, the land farmed by the rich peasants themselves or by hired help, regardless of the quality of the soil, will not be confiscated.

(B) The movable assets and the domestic animals and farm tools of the rich peasants, except items used for feudalistic usury, leasing, and exploitation of the peasants, will not be confiscated.

(C) Besides the unified graduated taxes, the local governments may not impose levies or special taxes on the rich peasants.

(D) Where the laws of the Soviet are not violated, the governments of all levels must protect the freedom of the rich peasants to engage in industry and commerce and to hire labor.

(E) In areas (prefectures) where all the land is equally divided by demand of the greatest majority of the masses, the rich peasants have the right to the same shares as the ordinary peasants.

(F) The rich peasants must be punished according to law when they violate the laws and orders of the Soviet; when they perform counter-revolutionary activities, they must be punished according to the Provisional Regulations for the Punishment of Counterrevolutionaries.

(G) The rich peasants still have no right to join the Red Army or any of the armed units (including the Red Guard), nor the right to vote.

(H) The Land Law and all other laws and orders promulgated previously which conflict with this order are hereby abolished.

(I) This order becomes effective on the day of its promulgation (in non-contiguous areas, on the day of its receipt). All decisions rendered according to previous laws before this order becomes effective will remain valid. There may be no reversal.

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman

15 December 1935

° "Order No 2 of the Executive Committee of the Central Government of the Chinese Soviet Republic," 15 December 1935

6080

CSO: 4005

## DECLARATION OF THE SOVIET CENTRAL GOVERNMENT TO THE INNER MONGOLIAN PEOPLE

20 December 1935

[Text] Dear people of Inner Mongolia! Currently we are at the critical moment of world changes. Are you willing to submit to the slaughtering and cutting by Japanese imperialism and Chinese warlords, become their cannon fodder, and perish, or will you rise to the occasion, vigorously exert yourselves, and strive for complete equality of the supreme Mongolian people with the nations of the world? You must choose between the two, and we hope you will decide promptly.

To occupy all of China, the ambitious and arrogant Japanese imperialism must first take Manchuria and Mongolia; to gain world supremacy, it must first occupy China. This barbarous scheme is now being gradually realized, and the first to suffer the consequences are the people of the Three Northeast Provinces and the five North China provinces and the entire nation of Inner Mongolia. The cunning and despicable Japanese bandits, with their sweet words and evil intent, are resorting to all kinds of fraudulent measures and borrowing "Great Mongolianism" to attain their goal of taking over all the land and assets of Mongolia and enslaving the entire people of Inner Mongolia. They are preparing to turn your soil into a battlefield and your people into cannon fodder in order to achieve their goal of attacking the Chinese Soviet People's Republic, invading the Outer Mongolian People's Republic and the Soviet Union, and finally destroying the Mongolian nation. If you do not believe this, you only have to look at the people of the three provinces of Korea and Taiwan who cannot use their own language, who have no freedom of residence, movement, farming, or raising livestock, and whose political and economic powers are entirely controlled by the Japanese. If you will then look at the military defense and military installations of Japanese imperialism in Chahar and its Hsing-an Head Office and all its other conspiracies, you will clearly see the unprecedented crisis confronting the nation of Inner Mongolia. Then there are also the Chinese warlords headed by the shameless Chiang Kai-shek who not only consider themselves the suzerain but have even designated the entire region of Inner Mongolia a province and driven the Mongolian people to

an area south of the Yellow River and north of the Yin-shan mountains, and constantly order minor warlords Ching Hsiu-yueh and Kao Shih-hsiu to take the pastures and salt ponds, in order to destroy gradually the Mongolian nation, serve as the road cleaners of Japanese imperialism, and hasten the end of Inner Mongolia.

In the several years of courageous fighting, the Central Government of the Chinese Soviet People's Republic and the brave Red Army units have dealt innumerable severe blows to Japanese imperialism and warlord Chiang Kai-shek. The Chinese Red Army has become an invincible force, especially the courageous Central Red Army. After an expedition of 25,000 li, it broke the world march record and successfully fulfilled the plan to resist Japan in the North. The fighting goal of the Chinese Red Army is not only to liberate the entire nation of China from the oppression of imperialism and the warlords, but similarly to struggle for the emancipation of other weak nations, and primarily it must help solve the national issue of Inner Mongolia. We feel that only when the nation of Inner Mongolia joins us in our fight before it can preserve the glory of the Genghis Khan era, avoid national perdition, step on to the road of national recovery, and gain independence and liberty similar to the nations of Turkey, Poland, the Ukraine, and the Caucasus. Therefore, this government declares to you:

(1) The entire area of the original 6 mongs, 24 pu's, and 49 banners of Inner Mongolia, the 2 pu's of Chahar and T'u-mo-t'e, and the 3 special banners of Ninghsia, whether changed to county jurisdiction or deemed grassy plains, must be returned to the people of Inner Mongolia and considered the territory of the nation of Inner Mongolia. The names and administrative organizations of the provinces of Jehol, Chahar, and Suiyuan must be abolished, and no other nation may occupy or seize under any excuse the territory of the nation of Inner Mongolia.

(2) We feel that the people of Inner Mongolia have the right to solve all their internal problems, and no one has the authority to interfere by force in their living, habits, religion, ethics, and all other rights. Meanwhile, the nation of Inner Mongolia may organize according to its own desire. It may, according to the principle of self-determination, organize its own life and form its own government. It has the right to form alliances with other nations. It also has the right to establish its separate entity. In sum, the nation is supreme, and all nations are equal.

(3) All the Chinese, Moslem, and Manchurian nationals in Inner Mongolia must, according to the principle of national equality, develop democracy, so that all such minorities will receive the same treatment as the Inner Mongolians, and they must have the freedoms of language, religion, and residence.

(4) First of all, Pao-t'u-wan occupied by Ching Hsiu-yueh, the area occupied by Kao Shih-hsiu, and the two salt ponds must be returned to the Inner Mongolian people, and the vicinity of the Great Wall, such areas as Ning-t'iao-liang, An-pien, and Ting-pien, must be designated as a commercial zone, in order to develop trade between us.

(5) Our Worker and Peasant Red Army guerrillas, or any other armed unit, has absolutely no intention to attack the grassy plains, but neither should you permit transit of the troops of the Chinese warlords and Japanese imperialism through the grassy plains to attack us and hasten your own perdition. We wish to unite with you and form a defense and offense alliance, in order to knock down our common enemies.

In sum, as long as you realize the necessity of the liberation of the Mongolian nation, refuse to become people without a country, and have the determination to resist Japanese imperialism and the warlords of Chiang Kai-shek's China, then, regardless of whether you are aristocrats or ordinary citizens, we will render you friendly and substantial aid. The Mongolian people have always been known to the world for their courage and fighting ability. We believe that, once you consciously organize, wage a national revolutionary war, and oust Japanese imperialism and the Chinese warlords from the territory of Inner Mongolia, no one will have the audacity to claim that it is easy to take advantage of the sons of Genghis Khan. Please think it over carefully. And it is hoped that we will mutually send delegates to discuss our great cause. It is so declared.

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Government, the  
Chinese Soviet People's Republic

20 December 1935

° "Declaration of the Soviet Central Government to the Inner Mongolian People" (mimeographed), December 1935

\* "Analysis of the Current Situation," Theory and Practice Press, 1935

6080

CSO: 4005

## RESOLUTION ON CURRENT POLITICAL SITUATION AND PARTY TASKS

Passed by the Chinese Communist Party Central Politburo

25 December 1935

[Text] I. Nature of the Current Situation

A fundamental change has occurred in the current political situation, demarcating a new era in China's revolutionary history. The manifestations are the attempt of Japanese imperialism to turn China into a colony, the pending expansion of China's revolution into a great nationwide revolution, and the imminence of the world revolution and war.

After annexing the four Northeast provinces, Japanese imperialism has now occupied all of North China and is preparing to swallow all of China, in order to turn China from the semi-colony of the various imperialists into Japan's colony. This is the basic characteristic of the current situation.

As the open and armed occupation of the four Northeast provinces aroused the anti-Japanese anger of the whole of China, Japanese imperialism has adopted a more subtle approach. It utilizes the Kuomintang Nanking government to issue orders and appoint certain Chinese traitor warlords and politicians as its agents in North China, with the intention of eventual direct armed occupation. Though the means is more cunning and vicious than that of "18 September," it is merely a transition stage to direct armed occupation and the establishment of a nation of North China and its puppet government. A second puppet Manchukuo government will be the inevitable outcome. The many warlords and politicians, rich gentry, compradors, and capitalists, constituting the major components of China's traitor clique, especially the pro-Japan factions among them, will serve as the constituents and supporters of the puppet government. Without this large group of spies and traitors, Japanese imperialism will not find it so easy to turn China into its colony.

By its act of annexing North China and preparing to swallow the entire China, Japanese imperialism brings the great calamity of the loss of the nation and the destruction of the race to the 400 million Chinese people. This calamity forces all the Chinese who are unwilling to lose their country or to serve as spies and traitors to the only path available to them; they have to launch a sacred national war against Japanese imperialism and its running dogs, the spies and traitors. To defend their own nation, all patriotic Chinese people will fight the bloody war to the final end. This is the inevitable response to the venture of Japanese imperialism to destroy the nation and race of another country. After swallowing the four northeast provinces, a relatively small bomb, Japanese imperialism begins to swallow China proper, a gigantic bomb.

The act of Japanese imperialism to swallow China singlehandedly has aggravated the internal conflicts of imperialism to an unprecedented extent. For its own goal, imperialism absolutely cannot tolerate Japan. A Pacific war is inevitable. Meanwhile, Great Britain wishes to acquire certain concessions and compromises from Japan so that it can devote its main force to its major enemies, the Soviet Union, America, and Italy.

The act of Japanese imperialism to swallow China has promoted the weakening and collapse of China's counterrevolutionary regime, first of all the regime of Chiang Kai-shek, the chief traitor. Chiang Kai-shek's consistent traitorous policy has not only caused him to lose certain social and mass bases, but also reduced his territory. His long struggle against the soviet, especially the five "encirclements" and his pursuit of the Central Red Army, has consumed, exhausted, and dispersed his forces. The dream of a fascist unification of China has declared final bankruptcy. The Fifth Kuomintang National Congress was actually a loot dividing conference unfavorable to Chiang Kai-shek. He can only rely more on betraying China to maintain his dying control, while such betrayal further hastens the destruction of his rule.

This situation aggravates further the contradictions and conflicts between the Chiang faction warlords and other warlords and increases the possibility of a war against Chiang on a new status of a new nature.

The act of Japanese imperialism to swallow China occurs precisely at the time when China's soviet movement is shifting to a new situation. Since the Central Red Army withdrew from the central soviet area and certain soviet areas along the lower Yangtze suffered partial losses, with the new victories won by the Red Army on all fronts, the creation of new bases, the shift of the guerrilla war in the old soviet areas into counteroffensive, and the vigorous development of the new guerrilla warfare, the difficult time has passed. After a long march of 25,000 li stretching over 12 months, the Central Red Army defeated Chiang Kai-shek's pursuit, declared the bankruptcy of the encirclement, pursuit, blockade, and interception of imperialism and its running dog Chiang Kai-shek, broke the long march record of history, pointed out, by means of the

propaganda teams, the way to relieve misery and save the nation to more than 200 million people in the 11 provinces traversed by it, and, like a seeder, scattered the seed of revolution. The smashing of the third enemy "encirclement" in the Shensi and Kansu soviet areas after the Central Red Army effected a junction with the 25th, 26th, and 27th Armies, demonstrated even more clearly the arrival of the new period of the soviet movement. In combination with the current new general revolutionary situation, it becomes an important component of the new situation of China's revolution. It points out that the ironclad strength of the Soviet Red Army exists in the great strengths of the Chinese people to resist Japanese imperialism and save China from the calamity of losing the nation and the race.

The act of Japanese imperialism to swallow China has again awakened the Chinese people, made them realize the critical situation of the pending calamity, and stirred up a national revolutionary high tide. This high tide has been created after innumerable temperings in China's revolutionary history (mainly the great revolution of 1925-1927); it has been created when China already has its soviet revolutionary bases and the existence of a revolutionary situation; it has been created under the pending new cycle of a world revolution and war; it has been created when the Soviet Union already has the strength to overcome all the aggressive nations and aid the oppressed people. Therefore, it is extremely widespread and firm, and produces an interaction with the world revolution by mutually influencing and mutually aiding each other.

Undoubtedly, the new anti-Japanese national revolutionary high tide has not only awakened the more backward strata of the workers and peasants in the nation and caused them to participate actively in the revolutionary struggle, but also attracted the broad petty bourgeois masses and the intellectuals to the revolution. The total collapse of China's national economy, the millions who have lost their jobs or land, and the millions of disaster victims and refugees have closely linked the new anti-Japanese national revolutionary high tide with the daily struggles of the masses for salvation and survival and greatly expanded the stronghold of the national revolution and its mass foundation. The revolutionary wrath of the broad masses is fermenting in all areas of China, and begins to manifest itself again in the anti-Japanese demonstrations of the students in the large cities. In the counterrevolutionary stronghold, there are new vacillations, splits, and conflicts. A part of the national bourgeoisie, many rural rich peasants and small landlords, and even some of the warlords have become sympathetically neutral toward the budding new national movement, with the possibility of participation. The national revolutionary front has expanded.

Today's world is on the eve of a great revolution and a great war. The economic crisis of all the imperialist nations and the resulting revolutionary crisis make it impossible for imperialism to find another way to save the situation except war. Doubtlessly the danger of a second

imperialist world war exists in Japanese imperialism's large-scale attack of China and Italian imperialism's aggression of Abyssinia. Meanwhile, the national revolutionary wars waged by China and Abyssinia and the maturing of the revolutionary crisis in the imperialist nations and their colonies will doubtlessly lead to a world revolution. Currently, on the eve of revolution and war, we can clearly see the weakening of the world counterrevolutionary strengths and the rise of the world revolutionary strengths. In the future, the world war and world revolution will put an end to all the counterrevolutions in the world. Under such a situation, China's revolution is no longer isolated as in the past. The world revolution is an effective aid to China's revolution, while the latter has become a great factor in the world revolution. In the future, China will aid the world revolution with the noble position of the entire nation.

The same principle applies to the relationship between Japan and China. Under the leadership of the powerful Japanese Communist Party, Japan's workers and peasants and the oppressed nations (Korea and Taiwan) are preparing to struggle for the overthrow of Japanese imperialism and the building of a soviet Japan. Thus, China's revolution and Japan's revolution are joined under the common goal of "knocking down Japanese imperialism." Japan's revolutionary people are the effective helpers of China's revolutionary people.

The situation is the same with the Soviet Union. Today's Soviet Union has the strength to overcome the imperialists which have the audacity to provoke it (the Second Five-Year Plan nearing completion; the power of the Red Army). When all the peaceful means toward Japanese imperialism are ineffective (several proposals to form a mutual nonaggression pact) and Japan actively provokes the Soviet Union, the latter is ready to hit the aggressor. Thus, China's revolution, Japan's revolution, and the Soviet Union's struggle against the aggressor are joined on the foundation of a common goal--knocking down Japanese imperialism, and the Soviet Union becomes the most effective aid to China's revolution.

China's revolution has a favorable environment and a brilliant future. Nevertheless, its main enemy, imperialism, especially the ferocious and arrogant Japanese imperialism at present, is prepared to confront it with determination and strength. In regard to China's counterrevolutionary group, as its ruling force is weakened more than ever before, it has no choice but to render greater service to the vicious tiger, rely on the wicked Japanese imperialism, and launch a desperate attack on the revolutionary people. When we consider the unbalanced development between this situation and China's revolution currently still in existence, we know that China's revolution has endurance. It points out to China's revolutionary people and their leader, the Communist Party, that they must be prepared for a long-term war against the enemy and to be ready for hard work! Without tens of thousands and hundreds of thousands of revolutionary soldiers, it will not be possible to bring about the final liquidation of the enemy. All strategies and all effort must be directed

toward organizing millions of people into the great national revolutionary battlefield. To prepare a great force is to prepare for the victory of the final battle.

## II. The Party's Strategy and Line

The current situation tells us that the act of Japanese imperialism to swallow China has shaken the entire nation and the whole world. The relations among the political parties of all classes and strata in China's political life and the armed forces have again changed, or are in the process of changing. The national revolutionary front and the national counterrevolutionary front are in the process of yet another reorganization. Therefore, the party's strategy and line are to activate, rally, and organize all the revolutionary strengths of the entire nation to resist Japanese imperialism, the major enemy at the present time, and traitor Chiang Kai-shek. Regardless of who they are, what factions, what armed units, or what classes, as long as they oppose Japanese imperialism and traitor Chiang Kai-shek, they must all be rallied together to launch a sacred national revolutionary war, expel Japanese imperialism out of China, knock down the control of the Japanese imperialist running dogs, gain the thorough liberation of the Chinese nation, and preserve its independence and territorial integrity. Only the most extensive anti-Japanese national united front (the lower and the upper strata) will overcome Japanese imperialism and its running dog Chiang Kai-shek.

Naturally, the different individuals, different organizations, different social classes and strata, and different armed units will have their different motives and standpoints in the anti-Japanese national revolution. Some wish to maintain their existing position, others wish to gain the leadership power of the movement and limit the movement within the realm permissible by them, and still others truly strive for the thorough liberation of the nation of China. Precisely because of such different motives and standpoints, some of them will vacillate or rebel right at the beginning of the struggle, others may become negative halfway and withdraw from the front, and there are those who wish to struggle to the bitter end. Nevertheless, our task is to rally not only all possible anti-Japanese basic strengths, but all possible anti-Japanese allies; it is to ask the people of the entire nation to contribute their strength, money, guns, and knowledge, so that not one patriotic Chinese is left out of the anti-Japanese front. It is the party's most extensive national united front, and the general line of its strategy. Only by this line will we mobilize the strengths of the people of the entire nation against the common enemy of all the people, Japanese imperialism, and traitor chief Chiang Kai-shek.

China's worker class and the peasants remain the fundamental motive power of its revolution. The broad petty bourgeois masses and the revolutionary intellectuals are the reliable allies in the national revolution. A firm alliance between the workers and peasants and the petty bourgeoisie

constitutes the basic strength to overcome Japanese imperialism and the spies and traitors. In regard to a part of the national bourgeoisie and warlords, no matter how much they disagree with the land revolution and the soviet system, if they are sympathetic with or adopt a friendly neutrality toward the struggle against Japan and the spies and traitors, or if they directly participate in the struggle, it is favorable to the deployment of the anti-Japanese front, because it serves to weaken the total counterrevolutionary strength and increase the total revolutionary strength. To attain this goal, the party must adopt all kinds of suitable methods or patterns to win them over to the resist-Japan front. Not only thus, but even in the stronghold of the landlord and comprador classes, they are not all unanimous. As a result of the competitions among many imperialists in China in the past, various traitor groups have emerged, with conflicts and contradictions among them. The party must also resort to many means so that certain counterrevolutionary forces will temporarily take the position of not actively opposing the anti-Japanese front. The same strategy must apply to imperialists other than Japan.

When activating, rallying, and organizing the strengths of the people of the entire China in order to resist their common enemies, the party must firmly and steadfastly struggle against all tendencies of vacillation, compromise, surrender, and rebellion within the united anti-Japanese front. All those sabotaging the anti-Japanese movement of the Chinese people are spies and traitors, and we must all rise and attack them. The Communist Party must, by its own positive, thorough, and correct anti-Japanese, anti-spy, and anti-traitor words and deeds, gain the leadership power of the anti-Japanese front. And only under the leadership of the Communist Party will the anti-Japanese movement achieve thorough victory. In regard to the broad masses on the anti-Japanese front, their demands involving their basic interest must be satisfied (the demand of the peasants for land; the demand of the workers, poor people, soldiers, and intellectuals for improvement of their life). Only when their demands are met can the broad masses be mobilized to the anti-Japanese battlefield, the anti-Japanese movement acquire endurance, and the movement march toward total victory. Only thus can the party gain leadership power in the anti-Japanese movement.

### III. The National Defense Government and the Resist-Japan Allied Army

The most extensive and the supreme form of the national united front against Japan and the traitors consists of the National Defense Government and the Resist-Japan Allied Army. In view of the existence of sentiments unfavorable to the soviet system and the land revolution but favorable to the movement against Japan and the traitors, the situation of local Balkanization resulting from political and economic imbalance, the partial territorial success of the Chinese soviet political power at the present time, and the gravity of the acts of the spies and traitors, the national counterrevolutionaries, in their roles as accomplices to

Japanese imperialism, the organization of the National Defense Government and Resist-Japan Allied Army is not only feasible, but necessary.

The Chinese people adopt many different patterns to resist Japan and the traitors, and the degree of awareness of those participating in the anti-Japanese movement is not the same. The Communist Party members must seize all opportunities to activate, organize, and lead the struggles of all patterns and all degrees and channel them to the stage of the National Defense Government and the Resist-Japan Allied Army. All anti-Japanese and anti-traitor elements, regardless of which class, which political faction, which social organization, or which armed unit they represent, may join the National Defense Government and the Resist-Japan Allied Army. The National Defense Government is the political power organization of the united front of all the anti-Japanese and anti-traitor strength throughout China and the united leadership organ of the anti-Japanese and anti-traitor national revolutionary war. In the class sense, it is an alliance of all classes under the common goal to resist Japan and the traitors.

To organize the National Defense Government and the Resist-Japan Allied Army promptly, and to give this government and army a broader mass foundation and greater armed strengths, the strategy of the Communist Party is not to wait for the spontaneous emergence of the anti-Japanese people's organizations and anti-Japanese armed strength before organizing them, but to direct its own members to activate all the patriotic elements and all the organizational, class, stratum, factional, production and mercantile, cultural and educational, student and teacher, modern and old fashioned, social and political, worker-peasant and petty bourgeois, national bourgeois, urban, rural, and armed strengths, initiate all kinds and types of anti-Japanese and anti-spy and traitor organizations (resist-Japan association, anti-Japanese federation, etc.), organize all kinds and types of anti-Japanese and anti-traitor troops (resist-Japan volunteer army, the New 19th Route Army of the People's Revolutionary Army, etc.), and form political power structures (resist-Japan governments of the counties, districts, and cities, the people's revolutionary government, etc.). When such organizations, troops, and political power structures are assembled, and the strengths of the soviet and the Red Army added to them, we will have the organizations of the National Defense Government and the Resist-Japan Allied Army. After the formation of the National Defense Government and the Resist-Japan Allied Army, we must, every day, activate new organizations, new local governments, and new troops, continuously eliminate the vacillating and renegade elements, and continuously absorb new strengths, so that the National Defense Government and the Resist-Japan Allied Army will become a government and an army which, instead of decadent, are vigorous and, instead of weak, possess a tremendous combat strength. As for some areas where resist-Japan governments and resist-Japan allied forces have sprung up freely without undergoing the party's activation and guidance due to the weakness of the party's strength in such areas, or without the

participation of the soviet and the Red Army due to their distance, the party organizations in such areas must actively aid, support, and participate in them. This is the concrete work line of the Communist Party to realize the National Defense Government and the Resist-Japan Allied Army.

As the National Defense Government and the Resist-Japan Allied Army are the most extensive and the supreme form of the organization of the national united front against Japan and the traitors, they must possess the most extensive action outline. The outline is as follows:

1. Resist Japan and save the nation; recover lost territory.
2. Confiscate all the assets of Japanese imperialism in China for resist-Japan expenses.
3. Confiscate the land and assets of all the traitors and spies and divide them among the workers, peasants and disaster victims and refugees.
4. Relieve disasters and control flood; settle the people's living.
5. Abolish all harsh levies and vexatious taxes; develop industry and commerce.
6. Raise wages and rations; improve the living standards of workers, soldiers, and teachers.
7. Develop education; relieve students unable to attend school.
8. Realize democratic rights; release all political prisoners.
9. Develop production technology; relieve jobless intellectuals.
10. Rally the workers, peasants, and all oppressed masses of Korea, Taiwan, and Japan to form a firm alliance. Establish close friendly relations with nations or states expressing sympathy for China's national movement or maintaining a friendly neutrality.

The Communist Party must, in the process of the resist-Japan struggle, seek the realization of these outlines and, through these outlines, the realization of the party's 10 great outlines.

#### IV. The Soviet People's Republic

The most extensive united front against Japan and the traitors has its special significance today; it is the success of the soviet in many areas in China, which is fundamentally different from the period of the great revolution of 1925-1927. The success of the soviet movement led

by the Communist Party in many areas in China in the past 9 years has supplied a fundamental strength to the new anti-imperialist high tide, given hope to the people of all the nation, furnished live examples of seizing freedom, liberation, and independence from the hands of imperialism and traitors, laid the firmest foundation and base for the most extensive national united front, guaranteed the endurance and eventual thorough victory of the new great revolution, and provided the central support to the National Defense Government and the Resist-Japan Allied Army.

To gain a broad and powerful foundation for the national united front, the Soviet Worker-Peasant Republic and its Central Government declare that its name is hereby changed to the Soviet People's Republic and that many parts of its policies, which are the policies of the Soviet Worker-Peasant Republic, are revised for better adaptation to the situation of resisting Japanese imperialism in its attempt to turn China into a colony.

Such revisions primarily manifest more fully that the soviet represents not only the workers and peasants, but the nation of China. The fundamental interest of the nation of China is the freedom, independence, and unity of China, and only under the firm policy of the soviet will such fundamental interest be gained and safeguarded and the enemies to such interest, imperialism and traitors, thoroughly overcome.

The Soviet People's Republic declares that it is willing to rally the broad petty bourgeois masses around itself and that it is willing to grant the rights to vote and to be elected to all the revolutionary petty bourgeois elements. The soviet will protect, as far as possible by its policies and powers, all the urban and rural small industry and commerce hit by imperialism and China's counterrevolution. The soviet has long abolished all the harsh levies and vexatious taxes imposed by the Kuomintang warlords and promulgated the unified graduated tax favorable to the small producers.

The Soviet People's Republic declares that all intellectuals sympathetic to the anti-Japanese and anti-traitor movement, whether they were Kuomintang members or worked for the Kuomintang government in the past, will enjoy favorable treatment from the soviet government. The soviet will give them work, relieve their unemployment, and furnish them the opportunity to develop their talent in culture, education, art, science, and technology. The soviet will grant refuge to all the intellectuals, writers, artists, scientists, technical personnel, and newspaper reporters who have been expelled, scorned, or mistreated by Japanese imperialism or the traitorous Kuomintang government. (All of them may come to the soviet areas.) The soviet will grant the rights to vote and to be elected to all the revolutionary intellectuals, writers, artists, scientists, technical personnel, and newspaper reporters (regardless of whether they are of landlord, rich peasant, or capitalist background).

The Soviet People's Republic declares that all White army officers (regardless of rank) and soldiers who are willing to resist Japan and the traitors will have the right to receive favorable treatment from the soviet, and that the Soviet Red Army is willing to give work to all the unemployed soldiers rejected or disarmed by the traitorous Kuomintang government. Even those who once fought against the Red Army, once they lay down their arms, be they officers or soldiers, will receive favorable treatment. All the injured will receive medical attention. The soviet will grant the rights to vote and to be elected to all those White army officers and soldiers who wish to serve in the Red Army and are loyal to the cause against Japanese imperialism and its running dogs the traitors.

The Soviet People's Republic and its Red Army propose to all the individuals, organizations, political factions, and armed units in the entire nation which wish to participate in the cause against Japanese imperialism and its running dogs the traitors to organize together the National Defense Government and the Resist-Japan Allied Army. Regardless of what kind of armed units, the soviet and the Red Army are willing to form an agreement with them to resist Japan and punish the traitors, similar to the resist-Japan anti-Chiang agreement formed between the Soviet Red Army and the 19th Route Army in the past. However, in the past, the Red Army was unable to render direct substantial aid promptly to the 19th Route Army (nor did the 19th Route Army make a positive request) to repel Chiang Kai-shek's attack of Fukien, which was wrong. Hereafter, substantial aid must be rendered, as much as possible, to all the friendly units resisting Japan and punishing the traitors until the stage of direct combat coordination. To reach the goal of resisting the common enemies, the Soviet Red Army needs the victory and development not only of itself, but also of its friendly allied units.

The Soviet People's Republic revises its policy on the rich peasants. The assets of the rich peasants will not be confiscated. Except that part used for feudal exploitation, their land, whether farmed by themselves or by hired help, will not be confiscated. When all the land in a village is equally divided, the rich peasants have the right to the same shares as the poor and middle peasants.

The Soviet People's Republic adopts a policy more lenient than before toward the national industrial and commercial capitalists. Where it is beneficial to both sides, it welcomes them to invest in the territory of the Soviet People's Republic and establish plants and stores, and it will protect their property and reduce the taxes as much as possible, in order to develop China's economy. In areas occupied by the Red Army, all industry and commerce beneficial to the anti-Japanese and anti-traitor movement will be protected so that the people of the entire nation will understand that the Soviet People's Republic not only safeguards political freedom but is the best place to develop China's industry and commerce.

The Soviet People's Republic declares to the overseas Chinese that it commends them for their patriotic activities in aid of China's revolution and that, though those like Chiang Kai-shek have long deserted the revolution, the Soviet People's Republic and the patriotic people of the entire nation have continued the courageous cause since the Taiping Rebellion and are determined to save China from destruction and turn it into a powerful and prosperous nation. The day of the national victory of the Soviet People's Republic is the time of the liberation of the overseas Chinese. All the policies whereby the Kuomintang government led the overseas Chinese to slavery must be thoroughly eradicated, and replaced with policies of active protection of the overseas Chinese. The soviet grants the privilege of refuge to all the overseas Chinese compatriots currently rejected or expelled by Japanese imperialism and other imperialist nations, and it welcomes overseas Chinese capitalists to develop industry and commerce in the soviet areas.

All the policy revisions are for one fundamental goal: Overcome Japanese imperialism and its running dogs the traitors, seek the freedom, liberation, and independence of the nation of China, and strive for the national victory of the revolution.

To implement the policies successfully, to fight Japanese imperialism promptly, and to safeguard the leadership power of the national united front, the party and the soviet have a policy which has always been consistent but which requires a greater effort to make it more adapted to the needs of the national united front. It is to expand the Resist-Japan Red Army, to expand the resist-Japan guerrilla, to expand the territory of the Soviet People's Republic serving as the resist-Japan base, to smash the offensive of the traitor troops, to cleanse the resist-Japan path, to consolidate the resist-Japan rear, to thoroughly solve the land issue, to recruit the majority of the workers and peasants, to win over the traitor troops and Japanese imperialist soldiers, to propose to the minorities the formation of an alliance for common struggle, and to implement a flexible foreign policy.

The Red Army is the resist-Japan vanguard. Only the expansion, consolidation, and proper employment of this vanguard will assure the success of the anti-Japanese war. Today, the slogan to "struggle for the expansion of a 1-million-strong Red Army" must be closely linked to the urgent anti-Japanese war to avert destruction. To overcome Japanese imperialism and its running dogs China's traitors, the Red Army must be expanded to several million. But first it must be expanded to 1 million. The positive effort toward this goal of not only every Red director, soldier, local cadre, and soviet personnel, but also the revolutionary people of the entire nation, is most important. The elevation of the technical conditions of the Red Army, the improvement of technical and tactical education, the intensification and popularization of political work, the centralization of the leadership of the Revolutionary Military Affairs Commission, the assurance of material supply, and especially the

conformity of the strategy and battle direction with the correct principles (opposing adventurism when on the offensive; opposing conservatism when on the defensive; opposing escape-ism when shifting) are all indispensable conditions for victory.

Guerrilla warfare must be developed in the entire country, while stressing the areas occupied by Japanese imperialism and their vicinities, areas under traitor Chiang Kai-shek, and the resist-Japan bases (soviet areas) of the Red Army and their vicinities. All guerrilla troops must emerge as a part of the national war and closely link themselves with the land revolution of the peasant masses. Guerrilla warfare must be made to produce a great strategic effect in the anti-Japanese anti-traitor struggle. The party must make the guerrilla units the creators of resist-Japan bases (soviet areas); it must make all areas where the guerrilla troops are present establish resist-Japan people's revolutionary political power (county, district, and township resist-Japan governments, revolutionary committees, and even soviets) severed from Japanese imperialism and the traitorous control; it must make the guerrilla expand rapidly and become a resist-Japan revolutionary army; it must make the young students and revolutionary soldiers engulfed in the anti-Japanese tidal wave join guerrilla warfare in large numbers; it must unite all the guerrilla units, whether currently under the party's leadership or not, on a common foundation.

It will not be possible to succeed in overcoming Japanese imperialism and its running dogs China's traitors without expanding the territory of the Soviet People's Republic, i.e., the Red Army bases. Only when large sections of land controlled by the traitors are turned into soviet territory will the Red Army have a backing and the resist-Japan war its rear. We must strive for perfection in the many tasks within the soviet territory, enforce the correct policies, make the soviet territory impregnable and an area admired, cherished, and emulated by the people of the entire nation.

All attempts of the traitor troops to attack the resist-Japan bases and model areas of the people's political power must be ruthlessly repelled, smashed, and destroyed. To repel such counterrevolutionary attacks is the responsibility of not only the Resist-Japan Red Army and the anti-Japanese people of the soviet areas, but also the anti-Japanese people of the entire nation. The party must appeal to all the anti-Japanese people of all of China and of all the soviet areas to struggle in defense of their own bases, to resist the traitors' sabotage of the rear of the resist-Japan war, and to oppose the blocking of the Red Army by the traitors. Linking the civil war of China with the national war is a fundamental principle of the party's guidance of the revolutionary war.

It will be impossible to succeed in overcoming Japanese imperialism and its running dogs the traitors without the participation of the majority

of the millions of workers, peasants, soldiers, poor people, and revolutionary masses under the control of Japan and the traitors. The anti-Japanese anti-traitor national united front of the party and the Soviet Red Army must be expanded to all areas where the masses are found, and all the mass struggles must be raised from the low level to the high level, from the local to the national, and from the ordinary to the stage of resisting Japan and the traitors' political regime by force. Only when the struggles inside and outside the territory of the Soviet People's Republic are joined will Japanese imperialism and its running dogs the traitors be overcome.

It will be impossible to succeed in overcoming Japanese imperialism and its running dogs the traitors without recruiting the great majority of the worker class. We must build firm strongholds in the major enterprises of key cities, organize broad mass organizations by utilizing all open and semi-open possibilities, start from the concept of striving for victorious results (even very small victories) by assessing the concrete environment, activate, organize, and lead the worker masses in economic and political struggles, and give attention to the protection and education of cadres in the enterprises. We must accumulate the great strengths of the worker masses in preparation for a decisive battle. Striving for the leadership power of the worker class in China's revolution is the party's fundamental principle in the worker movement.

It will be impossible to succeed in overcoming Japanese imperialism and its running dogs the traitors without the participation of the peasants, constituting 80 percent of China's population, in the struggle front. The Communist Party and the soviet must satisfy the peasants' demand for land and struggle for the thorough solution of the land issue and the elimination of the rural feudal oppression. Only thus will we be able to mobilize millions of the peasant masses to take up arms and march to the battlefield against Japan and the traitors, to furnish an inexhaustible source of reinforcement to the national revolutionary war, and to turn the main objective of plunder by Japanese imperialism and China's national counterrevolution, the peasants, into China's national revolutionary army resisting such plunder. In areas occupied by Japan and their vicinities, we must first confiscate the land and assets of spies and traitors and distribute them to the peasants. Thereafter, in the struggle process, according to the people's own experiences, we will intensify the struggle and undertake the thorough solution of the land issue. The party's fundamental principle is to link the land revolution and the national revolution.

Nor will it be possible to overcome Japanese imperialism and the several million troops of China's traitors without the aid of the soldiers. We must, on a broad mass foundation, undertake the work on the soldiers. The party must appeal to the people of all soviet and White areas, Red Army soldiers, and guerrilla fighters to strive for the disintegration of the traitors' troops. When the tens and hundreds of millions of

people unwilling to become stateless slaves persuade the millions of officers and soldiers unwilling to become stateless slaves by sincere advices, by communicating with their relatives and friends, by letters of reproach, and by agitating slogans, it cannot help but influence them. Our slogans are: Chinese will not fight Chinese! Unite, workers, peasants, merchants, and students, and defend China by force; unite the Red Army and the White army, and knock down Japanese imperialism and the traitors! Travel expenses to those who wish to return home; land to those who wish to farm; those wishing to resist Japan join the Red Army and the volunteer army!

By its own example and sincere slogans, the Soviet People's Republic tells the oppressed Mongolians and Moslems: Organize your own state! Japanese imperialism and the traitors are our common enemies. Unite and knock down the enemies!

On the foundation of not overlooking any possibility for victory over Japanese imperialism and China's traitors, the foreign policy of the Soviet People's Republic is to negotiate with all nations, factions, and even individuals opposed to Japanese imperialism and its running dogs the traitors for the necessary understandings, compromises, diplomatic ties, and treaties of alliance. The Soviet People's Republic and its government do not shoot off arrows without selection of target. The Soviet People's Republic is willing to establish friendly relations with all those struggling in their own interest which is beneficial to the Soviet People's Republic's effort to resist Japan and punish the traitors.

All policies and all effort are for victory over Japan and the traitors. Anything against this goal will be rejected. This is the strategic line of the Communist Party and the soviet.

#### V. Closed-doorism, the Party's Major Danger

To overcome Japanese imperialism and its running dogs the traitors, the common enemies of the Chinese people, the Communist Party members must penetrate the masses, and participate in and lead all mass, national, and class struggles. Here, the key is the application of an extensive united front. Such a united front will, on the one hand, concentrate the maximum strengths against the major enemies and on the other hand, enable the broad masses, according to their own political experiences, to understand the accuracy of the party's ideas and rally them under the party's banner. The issue of the revolutionary leadership power must be more profoundly understood. To gain the leadership power in China's revolution, the Communist Party cannot rely only on the party's propaganda and agitation; it must make all the party members demonstrate leadership in their practical actions and daily struggles. It is not enough for them to perform work among the lower level masses (which is the main thing), but they must know how to conduct negotiations, discussions, compromises, and concessions with the upper level leaders of

other parties and factions who are connected with the lower level masses, in order to win those among them with whom continued cooperation is possible, expose finally the wavering, deceitful, and renegade elements before the masses, and expel them by the strength of the masses. For the party to gain leadership power, relying only on activities in the worker class (which is important) is not enough; the Communist Party members must perform their activities in the rural villages and among the poor people, soldiers, petty bourgeois, intellectuals, and even the revolutionary allies, struggle for their intimate interests, and convince them that the Communist Party is the representative of the interests of the majority of the people of China as well as the worker class and that it represents the entire nation. In all areas where the masses are found, regardless of how reactionary the leaders of such areas are, the Communist Party members must go there and perform revolutionary work. Only when the Communist Party members demonstrate that they are the most energetic and vigorous vanguard of China's revolution which nothing can stop, and not "holy disciples" conducting abstract discussions of communist principles, will the Communist Party gain the leadership power of China's revolution.

To make a bolder application of the extensive united front for the party to gain leadership power, the party must wage a firm struggle against the "leftwing" closed-doorism in the party. Under the present situation, closed-doorism is the party's major danger. The sources of closed-doorism are as follows: First is the lack of understanding of the current new political situation, which leads to the lack of understanding of the necessity to change the strategy to suit the new situation. Second is the inability to link the party's basic slogans and fundamental policy outlines with the current action slogans and political action outlines in practical actions. Third is the inability to flexibly apply Marxism, Leninism, and Stalinism to China's unique concrete environment, but turning them into rigid dogmas. Such closed-doorism tendency is manifested, in essence, in the fear of the enemies, the fear of the masses, and the lack of confidence in our own strengths, resulting in the fear to apply the strategy of an extensive united front. Actually, it is identical with rightwing opportunism. Its continuation will cause the party to become severed from the masses and relinquish its task of striving for the leadership power of China's revolution. Therefore, the party must firmly oppose "leftwing" closed-doorism, boldly apply the extensive united front, penetrate the millions of masses, have no fear of certain possible errors, and learn the technique of leading the masses in struggle. Naturally, in the struggle against "leftwing" closed-doorism, there must be no relaxation of the struggle against rightwing opportunism. Rightwing opportunism suppresses the struggle of the masses for their intimate interests, sacrifices the demand of the peasants for land and that of the workers, poor people, and soldiers for better treatment for the interests of the national bourgeoisie and the rich peasants and the partial interests of its allies, is afraid to use the weapon of criticism against the allies, and has no courage to lead the masses and

force the allies to proceed to a higher stage of the revolution. It may accept the influence of the national bourgeoisie, the upper level petty bourgeoisie, and the rural rich peasants and turn itself into their tail. There is no doubt that it is possible for the Ch'en Tu-hsiu-ism of 1927 to revive among some of the party units and party members in the new great revolution. The party must wage a firm struggle against such rightwing opportunism. Nevertheless, currently, "leftwing" closed-doorism is the party's major danger. The current opposition to the rightwing tendency is precisely for the purpose of successfully overcoming the "leftwing" tendency and thoroughly breaking down closed-doorism, so that the strategy of an extensive united front is correctly and boldly applied in all tasks. Then, the party will not be lagging behind the mass struggles, and the masses, beginning with the struggles for their daily intimate interests, will be elevated to the position of participating in the national revolutionary war to resist Japanese imperialism and its running dogs the traitors, the common enemies of the Chinese people.

#### VI. Expansion and Consolidation of the Communist Party

To accomplish the sacred mission shouldered by the Chinese Communist Party in the great historical era, the party must be expanded and consolidated organizationally. In the new great revolution, the Communist Party needs hundreds of thousands and millions of fighting members before it can lead China's revolution to thorough victory.

As the vanguard of China's proletariat, the Chinese Communist Party must absorb large numbers of workers and tenant peasants into the party and form a workers' backbone in the party. Meanwhile, as it is also the vanguard of the entire nation, all those willing to struggle for its principles, regardless of their background, may join the party. All the courageous fighters in the national land revolution must be absorbed into the party to perform the party's work in all aspects. Since China is an economically backward semi-colony and colony, peasants and intellectuals of petty bourgeois background often constitute a majority in the party. However, this does not lower in the slightest the Bolshevik position of the Chinese Communist Party. As proven by the facts, a party of such components can complete the glorious mission bestowed by the Comintern, the vanguard of the world proletariat; it can struggle arduously and persevere courageously. Among the communist parties in all the nations in the world, except the party of the Soviet Union, the Chinese Communist Party occupies a glorious advanced position.

We must struggle against the closed-doorism tendency in the party when developing the organization. Whether an individual can struggle firmly for the principles proposed by the party is the major criterion of membership. While attention must be given to the social composition, it is not the major criterion. The party must act as a smelting furnace of communism and temper the many new members willing to struggle for its

principles into Bolshevik warriors with the highest class awareness. The struggle between the two fronts in the party and communist education constitute one of the means to attain this goal. The party's ideological unanimity in Bolshevism is the concrete manifestation of its firm leadership of the proletariat. Closed-doorism on the issue of organization, which, instead of starting from the positive fighting needs, starts from the concept of fear, must be thoroughly destroyed. Innumerable active elements and mass leaders have emerged, or are emerging, in the great struggles of the national revolution and the land revolution. The party organization must, with warm welcome, open the door to them. The party does not fear the infiltration of certain opportunists. It assures the stability of its organization with the Bolshevik political line and iron discipline. It does not fear the uneven political levels of the non-proletarian party members; it will elevate them to the position of vanguard by means of the communist education.

Large numbers of cadres must be trained. The party needs thousands and tens of thousands of new cadres so that they can be sent group by group to all fronts. It is not necessary to teach them every item of leadership skills before assigning work to them, but what is necessary is to enable them to learn in struggle. We do not use the cadres and party members as we do machines. Instead, we cherish and trust them, assign them suitable work, and fully develop their talent and initiative. We do not treat them with the bureaucratic attitude. Instead, by means of persuasive explanation of the tasks and concrete instructions of the work, we vividly and vigorously link them with the party's leading organs. In regard to the errors of the cadres and party members in ideology or work, we do not discourage them lightly, call them opportunists, or even punish them. Instead, we conduct patient and repeated persuasive education. Errors in ideology and work are inevitable, but they can be corrected. The spirit of studying in Leninism and the tempering of experience in struggle are precisely the excellent means to correct errors. The firepower of struggle in the party must be directed toward those comrades who persist in their erroneous viewpoints and refuse to study, undergo tempering, or accept education. Organizational conclusions of a certain extent are only necessary for those comrades who have committed serious errors and cannot be convinced by persuasion. Nevertheless, all inner-party struggles and organizational conclusions must still contain the essence of party education toward the party concerned. Only when it comes to those opportunists who have consistently followed the wrong line, the party must not, because of their temporary expression of remorse, assign them important work.

In this great era of struggle, the rallying of party cadres firmly around the party's leading organs possesses a determining significance. As the party must unite the entire party and lead the broadest masses to the war of national revolution and land revolution, it cannot succeed without many capable cadres serving as the links. The correct organizational line and cadre policy constitute the premise of this task.

The Chinese Communist Party Central appeals to the entire party and cadres to struggle for the firm implementation of the party's strategies and lines, spread the united front to the entire nation, build the National Defense Government and the Resist-Japan Allied Army, make the Soviet People's Republic the state of the entire people, make the Red Army the troops of the entire nation, make the party a great people's party, link the land revolution and the national revolution, and link the civil war with the national war. Long live the sacred national war!

Long live China's independence, freedom, and unity!

Long live the Soviet New China!

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ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE RESIST-JAPAN VANGUARD ARMY OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S  
RED ARMY

1 March 1936

[Text] The following is announced: As Japanese imperialism pursues an outrageous course in North China without restraint, as Chiang Kai-shek, Yen Hsi-shan, and Sung Che-yuan, with their servile attitude, follow their habit of fawning on foreigners, and as the destruction of the nation is imminent, the Military Affairs Commission of the People's Red Army of the Central Government of the Soviet People's Republic of China orders this army to march east and resist Japan. This army wishes to ally with all patriots and revolutionaries, without distinction of being new or old, factions, or background, as long as they are sympathetic with the resistance of Japanese imperialism, in order to pursue together the great cause of the national revolution. Wherever this army marches, it will protect the patriotic movements, the revolutionary people, the interests of the workers and peasants, the intellectuals, and the industry and commerce of the area. It advocates the cessation of all civil wars and the alliance of the Red Army and the White army, in order to confront Japan unanimously. It wishes to negotiate and reach agreements or understandings with all patriotic soldiers, whether they actively cooperate with this army to resist Japan or passively refrain from opposing this army and the patriotic people in their resistance of Japan. China's greatest enemy is Japanese imperialism. All the people of China must rise as one, unite, and defend the nation. If the skin be lost, how can the fur be laid on? If the nation perishes, what good is one's life? Raise the just banner in the nation; announce the punitive expedition in China! Those with strength must donate their strength; those with money must donate their money; those with guns must donate their guns; those with knowledge must contribute their knowledge. Making 1 man equivalent to 10 is our spirit; making 10 men equivalent to 1 is our strength. The nation of China will not perish; Japanese imperialism will fall. The destiny of success or failure is self-evident without need of argument. Those who fail to understand the great principles, but fawn on the foreigners and trample on the people, or even resist this army, are severing themselves from the people of the nation, and this army will

punish them as spies and traitors. Unite, workers, peasants, merchants, students and soldiers!

Down with Japanese imperialism!

Down with spies and traitors!

Long live the resist-Japan national war!

Long live the new China of freedom and equality, and territorial integrity!

It is so announced.

P'eng Te-huai, Commander in Chief

Mao Tse-tung, Chief Political Commissar

1 March 1936

° "Announcement of the Resist-Japan Vanguard Army of the Chinese People's Red Army" (mimeographed), 1 March 1936

\* "Tou Cheng" [Struggle], No 96 (mimeographed), 1936

6080

CSO: 4005

DECLARATION AGAINST TRAITORS CHIANG KAI-SHEK AND YEN HSI-SHAN FOR BLOCKING  
THE EASTWARD MARCH OF THE RESIST-JAPAN VANGUARD FORCE OF THE CHINESE  
PEOPLE'S RED ARMY TO RESIST JAPAN AND FOR SABOTAGING THE RESIST-JAPAN REAR

5 April 1936

[Text] Patriotic compatriots of the entire China!

Since the loss of the five North China provinces in fact though not in name, the Japanese imperialist bandits are speeding toward the annexation of all of China.

At this critical moment of the nation and the race, the Central Government of the Soviet People's Republic of China and the Revolutionary Military Commission of the Chinese Resist-Japan Red Army have time and again demanded the cessation of all civil wars. All must unite to resist Japan together, without distinction of Red Army or White army. A national Resist-Japan and Save-the-Nation Congress must be convened to organize a National Defense Government and a Resist-Japan Allied Army. The main force of the Red Army of the entire nation must concentrate in Hopeh to block the advance of Japanese imperialism. In view of the urgent demand of the entire country to resist Japan and save the nation, the Central Government of the Soviet People's Republic and the Revolutionary Military Commission of the Chinese Resist-Japan Red Army organized the Chinese People's Resist-Japan Vanguard Army to cross the river and march east, resist Japan and punish the rebellious, and report to the anti-Japanese compatriots of the entire nation that it fought in the vanguard and vented a righteous anger. Yet, willing to serve as the running dog of Japanese imperialism, Shansi's Yen Hsi-shan has mobilized his entire armed forces to block the path of the Red Army to resist Japan. The outrageously wicked traitor head, Chiang Kai-shek, is helping him with up to 10 divisions of men against the Resist-Japan Vanguard Army of the Chinese People's Red Army, and has ordered the troops of Chang Hsueh-liang and Yang Hu-ch'eng to push north and sabotage our resist-Japan rear in the Shensi and Kansu soviet areas!

Look! When Japanese imperialism swallowed five North China provinces and the Japanese army and Manchukuo troops marched into Peking, Tientsin, Chahar, and Suiyuan, Chiang Kai-shek ordered his troops to withdraw completely from the five North China provinces. Yet when the Red Army marched east to resist Japan and threatened its security in the five provinces, Chiang Kai-shek transferred his troops to Shansi to attack the Resist-Japan Vanguard Army of the Chinese People's Red Army. Today, everyone knows Japanese imperialism's new scheme to annex North China: It is the concrete implementation of the so-called Hirota's three great principles. The joint "anticommunist" agreement of China, Japan, and "Manchukuo" is now being firmly carried out by traitor chief Chiang Kai-shek.

The Central Government of the Soviet People's Republic of China and the Revolutionary Military Commission of the Resist-Japan Red Army of China declare to all the patriotic compatriots in the entire China that Japanese imperialism plans to destroy China under the name of joint "anticommunism" of China, Japan, and "Manchukuo" and mobilize all the traitor troops against the Resist-Japan Vanguard Army of the Chinese People's Red Army. For the freedom, independence, and territorial integrity of the nation of China, we are determined to exterminate with our full strength the traitor troops blocking the path of our Vanguard Army to resist Japan and sabotaging our rear so that we will smash Japanese imperialism's new scheme to destroy China and strive for an immediate direct encounter with Japan. We also appeal to the patriotic compatriots of the entire nation to rise together, resist Japan and punish the rebellious, and support the eastern expedition of the Resist-Japan Vanguard Army of the Chinese People's Red Army, in order to save the nation from perdition. The victory of the Red Army in resisting Japan and punishing the rebellious is the victory of the patriotic compatriots of the entire nation; it is the victory of the nation of China.

Stop all civil wars; resist Japan together unanimously; create a resist-Japan people's front of all parties and all factions!

Oppose the "joint anticommunism" of China, Japan, and "Manchukuo" and the destruction of China!

Ally with Russia and the communists; resist Japan together for China's independence and freedom!

Convene a National Resist-Japan Save-the-Nation Congress; organize a National Defense Government and a Resist-Japan Allied Army!

Support the Red Army for immediate direct encounter with Japan!

Support the concentration of the main force of the Red Army of the entire nation in Hopeh against Japan!

Concentrate the army, navy, and air force of the entire nation in Hopeh against Japan!

Down with traitors Chiang Kai-shek and Yen Hsi-shan blocking the Red Army from resisting Japan and sabotaging its rear!

Arm the people of the entire China; knock down Japanese imperialism; knock down spies and traitors!

Long live the resist-Japan national revolutionary war!

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Government of the  
Soviet People's Republic of China

Chu Teh, Chairman of the Revolutionary Military  
Commission of the Chinese Resist-Japan Red Army

5 April 1936

- ° "Declaration Against Traitors Chiang Kai-shek and Yen Hsi-shan for Blocking the Eastward March of the Resist-Japan Vanguard Army of the Chinese People's Red Army To Resist Japan and for Sabotaging the Resist-Japan Rear" (mimeographed), 5 April 1936

6080

CSO: 4005

OPEN CABLE MESSAGE FOR ARMISTICE AND NEGOTIATIONS FOR ESTABLISHING  
ALLIANCE AGAINST JAPANESE AGGRESSION

5 May 1936

[Text] The Military Commission of the Nanking National Government, the entire army, navy, and air force, all parties, factions, organizations, and newspaper publishers of the entire nation, and all compatriots unwilling to become stateless slaves:

Ever since the Soviet Central Government and the Revolutionary Military Commission of the Chinese Red Army organized the Resist-Japan Vanguard Army of the Chinese People's Red Army to cross the river and march east, the Vanguard Army was victorious wherever it went, and the entire nation responded. Nevertheless, just when it occupied the T'ung-p'u railway and actively prepared to march east to Hopeh and make direct contact with Japan, Chiang Kai-shek sent over 10 divisions to Shansi, cooperated with Yen Hsi-shan to block its path to resist Japan, and ordered Chang Hsueh-liang and Yang Hu-ch'eng and the troops of northern Shensi to march on the Red area in Shensi and Kansu and sabotage our resist-Japan rear.

The Resist-Japan Vanguard Army of the Chinese People's Red Army actually should concentrate its entire strength to wipe out Chiang's troops blocking its path, in order to attain the goal of direct contact with Japan. Nevertheless, after repeated consideration, the Soviet Central Government and the Red Army Revolutionary Military Commission feel that, in face of the national calamity, when we engage in battle, regardless of which side wins, it will be a loss to China's national defense strength and only please Japanese imperialism. Furthermore, among the troops of Chiang Kai-shek and Yen Hsi-shan, there are many patriotic soldiers who wish to stop the civil war and resist Japan together. Though obeying the orders to block the path of the Red Army, they actually find it an act against their conscience.

In view thereof, for the purpose of preserving the national defense strengths in order to carry out the war to resist Japan, for the purpose of firmly performing our proposal to the people of the nation to stop the

civil war and resist Japan together, and for the purpose of hastening the final awareness of Chiang Kai-shek and the patriotic troops under him, though many victories were gained in Shansi, the Worker-Peasant Democratic Government and the Red Army Revolutionary Military Commission are withdrawing the People's Resist-Japan Vanguard Army to the west bank of the Yellow River. By this act, they express their sincerity to the Nanking government, the army, navy, and air force, and the people of the entire nation. We hope, within 1 month, to cease all hostilities and negotiate for peace with all the armed units attacking the resist-Japan Red Army in order to attain our goal of resisting Japan together.

The Soviet Central Government and the Red Army Revolutionary Military Commission hereby solemnly advise the gentlemen in the Nanking government: At the critical moment of losing the nation and the race, you should, according to reason, immediately repent and, with the spirit of "brothers quarreling within the walls will defend themselves against the outsiders together," stop the civil war on a national scale, first of all in Shensi, Kansu, and Shansi. Both sides must send delegates to discuss the concrete measures to resist Japan and save the nation. This will benefit not only you gentlemen, but also the nation and the state. If you persist in your erroneous ways and continue to serve as spies and traitors, your control will finally collapse, and you will be deserted and overthrown by the people of the entire nation. The proverb says: "When a thousand men point their fingers, you die without illness." It also says: "Lay down the butcher knife and immediately become a Buddha." We hope you will give the matter your serious consideration.

The Soviet Central Government and the Red Army Revolutionary Military Commission appeal to all the organizations, parties and factions, and people of the entire nation who are unwilling to become stateless slaves to support our proposal to cease hostilities and negotiate for peace and resist Japan together, organize an association to promote the cessation of the civil war, and send delegates to block the firing line between the two sides and to further and supervise the complete performance of our proposal.

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Government of the  
Soviet People's Republic of China

Chu Teh, Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Commission  
of the Chinese People's Red Army

5 May 1936

° "Reference Material on China's Revolutionary History," Vol 3, Chinese People's University, 1957

\* "Yenan Revolutionary Museum," Cultural Publishing House, September 1959

\* "Tasks of the Chinese Communist Party in the Resist-Japan Period,"  
"Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung," Vol 1, footnote 4

6080

CSO: 4005

## DECLARATION OF THE SOVIET CENTRAL GOVERNMENT TO THE MOSLEM PEOPLE

25 May 1936

[Text] Dear Moslem brothers:

The second imperialist world war to redivide the colonies will soon break out. The people and land of China's five races are cut away in large sections by Japanese imperialism, which is now advancing toward Suiyuan, Ninghsia, Kansu, and Sinkiang. The calamity of the destruction of your roots and extermination of your race is imminent. Will you resign to destruction and division by others, or will you rise and fight and strive for the independence and freedom of the Moslems? The glory of the recovery of the Turkish Moslems will serve as the compass to all the Moslems and all the oppressed nations. At this critical moment, we hope you will rise up immediately!

The Moslems suffered the oppression and exploitation of China's ruling class in the past decade or more, especially the harsh levies and vexatious taxes of Chiang Kai-shek's Nanking government, which made the life of the Moslems unbearable. The Nanking government also frequently provoked ill feelings between the Moslems and the Chinese, to the extent of mutual slaughtering. It would then send troops to suppress them, causing the Moslem and Chinese people to lose all their energy, in order to benefit its cruel and greedy regime. In the past several years, the Kuomintang warlords headed by traitor Chiang Kai-shek recklessly capitulated to Japanese imperialism and attempted to sell all the interests of the Chinese people. With the fall of the four northeast provinces, the loss of the five North China provinces in fact if not in name, and the activity of the autonomy movement of southern Fukien, the Nanking government has now designated the four northwest provinces as an "anticommunist" zone. The entry of the Nanking troops into Kansu is the major step to destroy the northwest and suppress the independence movement of the Moslems, Mongolians, and Tibetans.

The Chinese People's Soviet Government and the People's Red Army Resist-Japan Vanguard Army have always considered the resistance of imperialism,

especially Japanese imperialism, and the thorough liberation of the Chinese nation and other small and weak nations their fundamental tasks. As the eastward march of the Vanguard Army against Japan is blocked by traitor Chiang Kai-shek, they feel that consolidating the rear defense, developing the resist-Japan base, and rallying all people and nations unwilling to become stateless slaves, primarily the minorities of the Northwest, in order to prepare for direct confrontation with Japan, are more important. Therefore, the westward march of the resist-Japan People's Red Army is not only a necessary step in the practical preparation against Japan, but also an excellent opportunity for the independence and liberation of the Mongolians, Moslems, and other small and weak minorities, especially the Moslems. Therefore, we solemnly declare to the Moslem people:

1. According to the principle of national self-determination, we advocate that the affairs of the Moslems must be completely handled by the Moslems themselves, that, in all Moslem areas, the Moslems must establish their independent and autonomous political power and handle all the political, economic, religious, custom, ethical, educational, and other matters, and that, in all areas where the Moslems constitute a minority, under the principle of national equality, the Moslems, with the district, township, and village as the units, must manage their own affairs and establish their own government.
2. According to the principle of the freedom of religion, we will protect Mohammedanism and the Ahongs and guarantee the absolute freedom of belief of the Moslems.
3. Armament is an indispensable condition of an independent and autonomous nation. We wish to rally all armed strengths of the Moslems and to help and develop them. We wish to arm the Moslems and form an independent "Moslem Resist-Japan Army." We hope that the Moslem armed forces will become one of the major strengths in the Resist-Japan Allied Army.
4. Abolish all the harsh levies and vexatious taxes imposed by the warlords, bureaucrats, and militia; improve the life of the Moslems.
5. Protect the Moslem language; develop the culture and education of the Moslems; start Moslem newspapers; raise the Moslem political and cultural levels.
6. The Moslems and Chinese must unite closely to knock down Japanese imperialism and the spies and traitors.
7. Form an alliance with Turkey, Outer Mongolia, the Soviet Union, and other nations and states sympathetic with China's endeavor for the thorough liberation of all races and resist Japan together.

Dear Moslem brothers! Now is the time when the small and weak nations rise up and struggle for survival and strive for thorough liberation. You are situated between the already liberated Soviet Union, Outer Mongolia, and Turkey and the Chinese Soviet Red Army in the process of liberation. As long as you will become aware and rise up and struggle, victory will be yours. It is solemnly declared.

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Government of the  
Soviet People's Republic of China

25 May 1936

° "Struggle," No 105, 12 July 1936

6080

CSO: 4005

DECLARATION ON THE NORTHERN MARCH OF ARMED FORCES FROM KWANGTUNG AND  
KWANGSI TO COMBAT JAPANESE AGGRESSION

11 June 1936

[Text] Recently, Japanese imperialism's large troop reinforcement in Hopeh and Chahar for the direct occupation of North China, its organizing of nationwide smuggling to destroy China's customs system and national economy, and its launching of the autonomy movement in Fukien all prove that it is carrying out its plan to destroy all of China at an unprecedented speed. Not only failing to show the slightest resistance, but Chiang Kai-shek's Nanking government assists Japanese imperialism in its aggression everywhere, suppresses all the resist-Japan national salvation movements of the Chinese people, blocks the eastward march of the Resist-Japan Vanguard Army of the Chinese People's Red Army, signs the "Sino-Japanese Anti-Communist Agreement," leads the wolf into the house, rejects the dissident in order to create an individual dictatorship, and enables Japanese imperialism to do as it pleases. At this time when the Japanese bandits and the shameless traitors are creating havoc in China, all the patriotic soldiers and compatriots with conscience and enthusiasm are filled with righteous anger, and they swear to struggle to the bitter end for the survival of the nation of China!

When Kwangtung and Kwangsi raise high the righteous banner to resist Japan and send their troops north, and demand that the Nanking government immediately send troops to resist Japan together, wherever their righteous voice is heard, the people of the nation become stimulated. On behalf of the resist-Japan people and resist-Japan Red Army, we wish to express our respect and support to the patriotic soldiers and compatriots of Kwangtung and Kwangsi and declare our desire to form a resist-Japan alliance to their authorities and struggle together. We appeal to the patriotic soldiers in the entire nation to rise up and respond to the patriotic compatriots of the nation, expand the resist-Japan and national salvation movement, and coordinate with the uprising of Kwangtung and Kwangsi. The current military action against Japan must be expanded to a sacred national revolutionary war of armed resistance of Japan by the people of the entire country. Meanwhile, we demand that the Nanking government immediately

repent, accede to the demands of Kwangtung and Kwangsi, and mobilize the army, navy, and air force of the whole China to march north and resist Japan. The Chinese People's Red Army is willing to concentrate in Hopeh, serve as the vanguard to resist Japan, and begin direct confrontation with Japanese imperialism.

Nevertheless, since Kwangtung and Kwangsi expressed their intentions, Chiang Kai-shek's Nanking government not only has not indicated any sincerity to accede to their demands, but has delayed time and again, and openly accused the authorities of Kwangtung and Kwangsi for provoking a civil war and destroying unity, while surreptitiously transferring large troops to block the troops of Kwangtung and Kwangsi from marching North and resisting Japan, provoking and alienating, and activating a civil war, in order to sabotage the resist-Japan front. In regard to such criminal acts of Chiang Kai-shek, the people of the entire nation absolutely refuse to become stateless slaves. The patriotic soldiers must immediately sever themselves from Chiang Kai-shek's policy to capitulate to Japan and march North to resist Japan together with the troops of Kwangtung and Kwangsi and the Red Army!

The matter is urgent! Patriotic soldiers and compatriots of the entire nation must closely unite, concentrate their forces against Japanese imperialism, and attack together! More than ever before, the Chinese people urgently demand a firm resist-Japan united front. We must firmly oppose the Second Kuomintang Central General Meeting called by Chiang Kai-shek and his National Congress. We advocate the immediate holding of a national resist-Japan congress. We ask all the resist-Japan and anti-traitor political, social, and occupational organizations and armed units in the nation to elect their own delegates to the congress and immediately realize the following outlines:

- (1) Announce the severance of relations with and declare war on Japan; punish Manchukuo; recover the lost territory in the Northeast and North China.
- (2) Abolish all unequal treaties between China and Japan and cancel all traitorous loans.
- (3) Punish the spies and traitors who gave up power and territory and brought calamity to the nation and the people.
- (4) Mobilize the army, navy, and air force of the entire China for direct contact with Japan.
- (5) Confiscate all the assets of Japanese imperialism and the spies and traitors for use as resist-Japan expenses.
- (6) Guarantee the freedoms of speech, publication, meeting, and forming associations to resist Japan and save the nation; release all political prisoners.

(7) Organize a national defense government and a resist-Japan allied army.

(8) Ally with all states and nations in the world treating us with equality; ally with all oppressed people in Japan.

These are the outlines to resist Japan and save the nation demanded by the people of the entire China, and they should be the outlines of Kwangtung and Kwangsi in sending troops to resist Japan. We sincerely hope that the patriotic leaders of the two provinces will courageously activate and support the people's patriotic movement to resist Japan, extensively arm and organize the resist-Japan people, cooperate with the people of the entire nation, and struggle for the thorough realization of these outlines. We believe that only when the resist-Japan armed forces and the resist-Japan people become one, and only when the resist-Japan armed forces become the armed forces of the resist-Japan people, will the great cause of liberating the nation of China initiated by Kwangtung and Kwangsi attain its final victory.

Support Kwangtung and Kwangsi in sending troops to march North against Japan!

All patriotic soldiers of China unite with Kwangtung and Kwangsi and hit Japan together!

Oppose Chiang Kai-shek's blocking of the righteous troops of Kwangtung and Kwangsi from marching North against Japan!

Call a national resist-Japan and save-the-nation congress!

Oppose Chiang Kai-shek's Second Kuomintang Central General Meeting and his National Congress!

Oppose Japanese imperialism's smuggling; confiscate all contrabands!

Down with Japanese imperialism!

Long live the resist-Japan united front of the people of the entire China!

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Government of the  
Soviet People's Republic of China

Chu Teh, Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Commission  
of the Chinese People's Red Army

11 June 1936

° "Struggle," No 104, 3 July 1936

6080

CSO: 4005

# DECLARATION OF THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT OF THE SOVIET TO THE SOCIETY OF BROTHERS

15 July 1936

[Text] Gentlemen of the Society of Brothers:

Recently, the barbarous bandit conduct of Japanese imperialism, the sworn enemy of the nation of China, to annex China is becoming ever more fierce. Not only taking our four northeast provinces by force, but they are actually controlling all of North China. Not only utilizing smuggling to destroy China's entire economic life and aggravate the miseries of bankruptcy and unemployment, but they have resorted to their colonial system in Taiwan and Korea and sent 50,000 reinforcements to North China. All such political and economic measures are for the purpose of turning North China into a second "Manchukuo" and the base to attack the whole China. Japanese imperialism is in the process of carrying out unlawful aggression in China's northwest and Central and South China, wishing to turn the entire country into its colony and the 400 million people into its slaves and beasts of burden. The calamity of losing the nation and the race is imminent. Thirty thousand catties hanging by a single hair, we are at the critical moment between life and death, between survival and perdition. Except the minority of traitors and spies, all the Chinese with any righteous feeling and all those unwilling to become stateless slaves are filled with a powerful anger and wish to wage a death struggle against Japanese imperialism! Recently, southwest military leaders Li Tsung-jen and Ch'en Chi-t'ang raised high the resist-Japan big banner, marched north, and demanded that Chiang Kai-shek of the Nanking government send troops to resist Japan. The resist-Japan national revolutionary war has entered a new stage.

The Society of Brothers has always followed the principle of promoting the Chinese to eliminate the Manchurians, and hitting the rich to relieve the poor. It actively participated in the anti-Manchurian revolutionary movement of 1911, and the north Shensi revolution also received much support and participation of the Society of Brothers comrades. Comrades such as Hsieh Tzu-ch'ang and Liu Chih-tan were not only leaders in the Red Army,

but also models in the Society of Brothers. Such revolutionary spirit and glorious achievements must be brought to a greater light today, and the society must struggle for the salvation of themselves as well as China.

The Chinese Soviet People's Central Government has made declarations time and again, announcing its principle of national salvation and appealing to all those unwilling to become stateless slaves to unite together, without distinction of parties or factions or classes, and together fight our common enemies--Japanese imperialism and the spies and traitors, in order to gain the independence and liberation of the nation of China. The Society of Brothers has always been an organization representing national patriots and the broad peasant and laboring masses. Oppressed by the government, the warlords, and the bureaucrats, branded as "low-class people," and slandered as "bandits," the society cannot exist in the open. The abuse suffered by the society from the hands of the ruling class is more or less identical with what we have suffered! As you advocated promoting the Chinese to eliminate the Manchurians in the past, we now advocate resisting Japan to save the nation; as you advocate hitting the rich to relieve the poor, we advocate hitting the local tyrants and divide the land; as you care not for money but for justice and associate with the heroes and tough guys in the world, we sacrifice ourselves to save China and the world and rally the oppressed and exploited nations and classes and strata in the whole world. Our viewpoints and principles are not much different; our enemies and our future are completely identical. Therefore, with great sincerity, we declare to all our brothers of the Society of Brothers of the whole country: Regardless of what misunderstandings and dissatisfactions between us in the past, we must now forget and discard them. We must unite under our common desire to resist Japan and save the nation, form a close and brotherly unity, and together save the nation from calamity with righteousness in our hearts. This is your sacred obligation and that of the people of the entire China!

The Soviet Government is the government of the oppressed people of China. We undertake the responsibility of receiving and protecting all those abused and persecuted by the Kuomintang government. Therefore, the Society of Brothers may exist openly under the Soviet Government. We have established a Society of Brothers reception office to receive the heroic, courageous, noble, and righteous people. It is our hope, and we request and welcome the members of the society in all areas, either in person or by delegates, to come to us and discuss the plans to save the nation. We eagerly await and welcome you. We shout:

Bring forth the revolutionary spirit of the Society of Brothers of the past!

Unite, the Society of Brothers and the people throughout China, to hit Japan and promote China!

Long live the liberation of the nation of China!

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Chinese Soviet People's  
Central Government

15 July 1936

° "Struggle," No 105, 12 July 1936

6080

CSO: 4005

## DIRECTIVE ON THE LAND POLICY

22 July 1936

[Text] To make the soviet truly the center of unity of the people of the entire nation, all its current policies must embody a clear popular essence and a profound national quality. The land policy has always occupied the major position among all its policies. By carrying out the land revolution, it will not only relieve the peasants, constituting 80 percent of the national population, of feudal exploitation, but also encourage them to participate actively in the national liberation cause and reinforce the national revolutionary strength. Since the Central Politburo conference in December last year, the soviet has made many important changes in the land policy (such as the rich peasant and small landowner policies, the decisions on class analysis and certain special problems, etc.). Such changes have gained the support of the broad people and produced practical results in the soviet area. Nevertheless, to attain the goal of liquidating the feudal remnants and building, within all possibilities, a broad people's resist-Japan united front by means of the enforcement of the land policy, we must further scrutinize it and make the necessary changes.

Therefore, the Central has made the following decisions on this issue:

- (1) All the land and assets of spies and traitors will be confiscated in their entirety.
- (2) The land, grain, buildings, and assets of the landlord class will be confiscated. After confiscation, the landlords will be given land for farming and the necessary production tools and material. The quantity and quality of the land will be determined by the majority opinion of the local peasant masses.
- (3) The land of the following categories of small property owners will not be confiscated:

- (a) Free lances, technical personnel, teachers, medical students, small merchants, and handicraftsmen.
  - (b) Workers who saved the money for the land by their own labor.
  - (c) Small landlords whose living conditions are very inferior.
  - (d) Those who were originally not landlords but were forced to rent their land out due to the loss of labor force.
  - (e) Those who worked as hired help even though they rented out their own land.
- (4) The land belonging to resist-Japan soliders and those dedicated to the resist-Japan cause will not be confiscated.
- (5) The land and the surplus production tools (farm tools; domestic animals) of the rich peasants will not be confiscated. Where the division of all land is carried out upon the demand of the basic peasants, the land of the rich peasant landlords must also be included in the division, but the rich peasants must receive their shares according to the general rules of division (receiving the same shares as the peasants in general).
- (6) In regard to the land belonging to large farmowners and enterprisers (enterprise owners who do not rely mainly on land rent exploitation, but on hiring large numbers of help to farm their land or raise livestock), as their production pattern is rather progressive, they will be handled according to the rich peasant policy. Where the majority of the peasants demand division, the land, animals, and grain of the large farmowners and enterprisers must be surrendered for division.
- (7) In case of merchants who are also large landlords, their land is handled similar to the landlords in general, but the commerce part of their assets must not be infringed upon.
- (8) High interest loans are cancelled. The Soviet People's Government will promulgate a new loan regulation and restrict the interest rates in the soviet area. Nevertheless, commercial loans and loans between the laboring people are not included among those cancelled.
- (9) The leasing of land is permitted in the soviet area. However, regardless of the type of owner renting out land, the cruel and slavish leasing of the old days must be abolished. The leasing regulations promulgated by the Soviet Government must be observed without exception.
- (10) The living conditions of rural workers must be improved. The Soviet Government will formulate special regulations on rural hired help for promulgation and enforcement.

The foregoing decisions become effective immediately in the newly created soviet areas. In the old soviet areas where the land has been divided, the original method will be followed and there will be no change. The Soviet Central Government will formulate and promulgate the concrete and detailed regulations for implementation of the foregoing decisions separately.

Central, 22 July 1936

° "Selections of Current Event Discussions," Chih-hsin Printing Press,  
1 May 1937

6080

CSO: 4005

OPEN LETTER FROM THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY TO THE KUOMINTANG

25 August 1936

[Text] Gentlemen of the Central Committee and the entire membership of the Chinese Kuomintang:

It has been a year since this party, the Soviet Government, and the Red Army published the declaration to resist Japan. Though our proposal to organize a national united front and rally all parties, factions, and fields to resist Japan together has won the support of the patriotic leaders and people of the entire country, as your party and your party government hesitate over its acceptance, the sacred national self-defense war, up till now, has not been launched. Meanwhile, the Japanese bandits take advantage of the gap and march straight in, taking a foot after gaining an inch. The tragic calamity of perdition is imminent. The entire nation is in a panic, unable to live through the day. Such grave danger of the nation and the people has been entirely caused by the erroneous policy of your party and your party government. Now is the critical moment of the nation and the race. This party cannot but again shout to you in desperation: Immediately stop the civil war; organize a national resist-Japan united front; launch the sacred national self-defense war; resist the aggression of Japanese imperialism; defend and recover China's territorial sovereignty; save the people of the entire nation from deep water and searing fire. If you continue the internal squabbles and refuse to shift the muzzle of the gun toward the outside, change the policy of concession to resistance, turn the situation of split to unity, and alter the condition of dispersal to unanimity, then the calamity and damage will be unimaginable, while your infamy will remain irrevocably through the generations. With an attitude of sincerity, we are writing to you gentlemen and the Chinese Kuomintang membership.

After reading the declaration of your party's Second Central General Meeting and the report of Committee Chairman Chiang at the meeting, we find that your Second Central General Meeting has not made an affirmative answer to the issue of averting perdition and seeking survival--an issue which has been worrying the people of the entire nation day and

night, and that it has not made a complete revision of the foreign policy of your party's Fifth General Congress--"before it is completely hopeless, peace must not be abandoned; before the final moment arrives, sacrifice must not be discussed lightly." It cannot but greatly disappoint the patriotic people of the entire nation.

In his report, Committee Chairman Chiang made a new explanation of the policy of your party's Fifth General Congress. He stated: "The Central's minimum limit in diplomacy is to preserve the integrity of territorial sovereignty. We absolutely will not tolerate the infringement of our territorial sovereignty by any nation; we absolutely will not sign any agreement encroaching upon our territorial sovereignty; we absolutely will not tolerate any instance in violation of our territorial sovereignty. To put it more clearly, should anyone wish to force us to sign anything damaging to our territorial sovereignty, such as the recognition of the puppet regime, that would be the time when we could no longer tolerate the situation, the time of our final sacrifice." Committee Chairman Chiang's explanation was extremely necessary, because the Chinese people never could figure out what constituted the minimum limit when "peace is completely hopeless" or when would be "the final moment of sacrifice." We admit that Committee Chairman Chiang's explanation shows certain improvement over the past, and we sincerely welcome such improvement. Nevertheless, basically it still cannot satisfy the demand of the people of the nation, because in his report, he also felt that "the diplomatic situation in the past 6 months has not reached the stage when peace is hopeless. Rather than being hopeless, one might say that there has been a ray of hope in the past 6 months compared with before. I daresay that the most recent diplomatic outlook has not reached the final moment." Therefore, he still hesitates to bring up the task of organizing a resist-Japan united front, and he still refuses to immediately launch a sacred national resist-Japan war. With Abyssinia's failure as an excuse, he continues the policy of concession. This is extremely regrettable. It is far too inadequate to satisfy the demand of the people of the nation. In view of the people of the entire nation, the fall of the four north-east provinces, the loss of the greater part of Chahar, the rampage of the East Hopeh Anti-Communist Autonomous Government, the puppetry of the Hopeh-Chahar Political Committee, the stationing of large numbers of Japanese troops in Hopeh and Chahar, the destruction of the economic power of North China, the open smuggling inundating the whole country, the desperate situation of national industry and commerce, the approaching bankruptcy of the state finance, the demolition of the customs authority, the general installation of Japanese special service organs in North China, and even the northwest provinces, the large scale attack on Suiyuan by Japanese and puppet Mongolian troops, the formation of the Inner Mongolian government, the unrestrained flight of enemy planes in China's territorial sky, the reckless conduct of Japanese tramps, the direct and indirect intervention in the students' patriotic movements and the people's patriotic expressions by the Japanese bandits, the massacre of large numbers of worker-peasant masses, the intolerable insults suffered

by many patriotic people, soldiers, police, and reporters, and even by many of the important members and government officials of your party, the forced withdrawal of troops defending the land, the alert of Tsingtao, the instigation of the South China autonomy movement, etc. were all tremendous losses to China's territorial sovereignty. In the view of the people of the entire nation, the Sung-hu [Shanghai], T'ang-ku, Ho [0149]-Mei [2734], and North China anti-communist agreements, and other unpublished written and unwritten pacts were all treaties involving the loss of sovereignty and territory. Therefore, in the view of the people of the entire nation, peace has long been hopeless and the final moment of sacrifice has long arrived. Short of launching the people and the armed forces of the entire nation to wage a resolute self-defense war, the total loss of China's territorial sovereignty cannot be averted.

Except by launching the strengths of the entire China to hit back firmly, the bandit plan of Japanese imperialism to destroy China definitely will not change. The changes in the pattern of aggression, the shifts in its direction, and the expression of the so-called "economic aid" are not for the purpose of ceasing aggression, but precisely for the purpose of facilitating it. Thus, should one feel that, after marching into Hopeh and Chahar, the Japanese bandits would concentrate on the economic aggression of the five North China provinces and therefore, there would be hope of peace, one would only be deceiving oneself as well as others. Should one think that the Japanese bandits would stop its aggression north of the Yellow River while we could enjoy partial peace south of the river, it would also be an illusion. Look! When you gentlemen are loudly proclaiming that peace is not yet hopeless, the Japanese and puppet troops of northern Chahar are advancing on a large scale against Suiyuan. After establishing special service organs in Suiyuan, Ninghsia, Inner Mongolia, and Kansu, Japanese imperialism built main and auxiliary airfields in such areas. It arbitrarily set up a consulate in Szechwan which led to the massacre of our patriotic compatriots. After reinforcing the troops in North China, the ferocious and savage Japanese army is poised for action, and minor confrontations occur frequently along the defense line of the 29th Army. The situation of North China is becoming ever more dangerous. Such espionage groups as the military investigation and economic investigation committees of the Japanese bandits travel arrogantly everywhere without restraint, entering every crack. Their espionage network spreads throughout the country, even within various organizations of your party and your party government. All these indicate that the situation is extremely critical. That peace is absolutely impossible and the resistance war absolutely inevitable is unequivocal. Your views are entirely wrong.

In the declaration of your party's Second Central General Meeting, you stated solemnly: "The prerequisite to defense against aggression is to concentrate all national salvation strengths under the direction of the Central Government, unifying the pace and consolidating the battle line. Therefore, the necessity of unity and discipline is an unshakable iron-clad principle. Meanwhile, the unity of the army and government and

military command is especially the minimum requirement of a modern nation." We fully agree that launching the maximum strength of resistance of the people of the entire country and concentrating and unifying the national salvation forces of the whole nation for the thorough victory of the resistance war are absolutely necessary. As early as the "18 September" incident, this party and the Soviet Government and the Red Army appealed to the people and troops of the entire country to wage a sacred national revolutionary war and expel Japanese imperialism from China. After the "28 January" Shanghai war, this party and the Soviet Government and the Red Army proposed to the armed units of your party and your party government encircling and attacking the soviet area to stop the war, discuss peace, and resist Japan together. After the North China incident, we again proposed the policy of organizing promptly the most extensive resist-Japan united front to include all parties, all factions, and all fields in China. Innumerable times, we requested your party and your party government to stop all civil wars and resist Japan unanimously, and we suggested calling a resist-Japan national salvation congress elected by all the people and all the armed units willing to resist Japan, in order to formulate a plan to resist Japan and save the nation and to elect a unified nationwide national defense government and organize a resist-Japan coalition army for a large-scale resist-Japan war. We firmly declared that the Soviet Government was willing to become a component of such a national defense government and the Red Army was willing to serve under the general headquarters of the resist-Japan coalition army, to be in charge of certain designated front, and to guarantee the completion of all combat missions. All the proposals of this party and the Soviet Government and the Red Army are completely compatible with the demands of the people of the entire country and constitute the only correct policy to avert perdition and seek survival. The people of the entire nation have never been so urgent in their demand for the cessation of the civil war and for concentration and unity, in order to resist Japan together. Only the Japanese bandits and their agents will incite continued splits and continued civil wars, because only by so doing will the condition for the destruction of China be created for the Japanese bandits.

Nevertheless, the "concentration and unity" advocated by your party's Second Central General Meeting is actually putting the cart before the horse. You must know that the civil war and disunity of the past decade have been entirely a result of the erroneous policy of relying on imperialism followed by your party and your party government, especially the consistent nonresistance policy since the "18 September" incident. Under your slogan of "pacifying the internal before driving out the external," you have been waging the civil war continuously from year to year, launched innumerable encirclements of the Red Army, and suppressed with all your might the patriotic and democratic movements of the people of the entire country. Up till very recently, you have relinquished the northeast and North China and forgotten that Japanese imperialism is China's biggest enemy, while devoting all your strengths against the soviet and the Red Army, pursuing the internal squabbles within your own

camp, blocking the path of the Red Army against Japan, sabotaging the resist-Japan rear of the Red Army, ignoring the demand of the people of the entire nation to resist Japan, and depriving the people of their freedom and rights. Patriotism is a crime, and jails for the wronged are scattered all over the country; betrayal deserves reward, and the spies and traitors celebrate together in their official robes. To seek concentration and unity with such erroneous policies is truly looking for fish on a tree, and the result will be exactly the opposite. We now tell you gentlemen seriously: If you do not fundamentally change your erroneous policies, if you do not turn your hostility toward Japanese imperialism, but continue to aim at your own compatriots, then, even if you wish to barely maintain the status quo, it will be impossible. Concentration and unity and the so-called "modern nation" are mere empty words.

What the people want are the concentration and unity to resist Japan and save the nation, not the concentration and unity to flatter the foreigners and trample on the people. What they eagerly demand is a government truly devoted to the salvation of the nation and the people, a truly democratic republic. They demand a democratic republican government protecting their interests. The major outlines of such a government must be: First, it can resist external aggression; second, it can give the people their democratic rights; third, it can develop the national economy and reduce, or even eliminate, the misery of the people. When it comes to a "modern nation," these are the only outlines required by the colonial and semi-colonial China in modern times. The people of the entire nation, with an eager desire and a firm determination, are in the process of struggling for the realization of this goal, yet the policy of your party and your party government is completely opposite to the desire of the people. To thus seek the people's confidence is absolutely impossible.

The Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese Soviet Government, and the Chinese Red Army now solemnly state: We support a united democratic republic of the whole nation, a congress elected by general popular vote, a resist-Japan national salvation delegates' mass meeting of the people and the resist-Japan troops of the entire nation, and a united national defense government. We declare: Upon the formation of a national united democratic republic, the soviet area will become a part thereof, the delegates of the soviet area will participate in the national congress, and the same democratic system will be carried out in the soviet area.

We feel that the national defense conference decided upon by your party's Second Central General Meeting and the people's congress now being called by your party and your party government cannot fulfill the task of concentration and unity to resist Japan and save the nation. According to the national defense conference regulations passed by your party's Second Central General Meeting, the organization of the conference is limited to a minority of your party and your party government and its duty is merely to serve as an advisory organ to your party and your party government. That such a conference will not be able to accomplish anything or gain

the confidence of the people is extremely clear. Meanwhile, according to the "Draft of the Constitution of the Republic of China" and the "Organization Law and Delegates' Election Law of the People's Congress" passed by your party government, the people's congress which you gentlemen wish to convene likewise will not be able to accomplish anything or gain the people's confidence, because such a people's congress is merely an organ manipulated by your party and a few officials of your party government; it will be an accessory and an ornament of the few officials. Such national defense conference and people's congress possess not the slightest resemblance to the national resist-Japan national salvation congress (national defense conference) and the democratic republic of China and its congress advocated by this party. We feel that a resist-Japan national defense conference must include the delegates of all parties, all factions, all fields, and all armed units and become a power organ truly able to decide on plans to resist Japan and save the nation. A united national defense government will be created from the conference. Meanwhile, the people's congress must be a congress created by a general election by the people of the entire nation and serve as the supreme power organ of the democratic republic of China. Only such national defense conference and national congress will win the welcome, support, and participation of the people and place the great cause of saving the nation and the people on a firm foundation. Otherwise, no matter how fancy the terms, it absolutely will not produce any practical benefit or gain the consent of the people. The failure of the many conferences called by your party and your party government all along is the best evidence thereof.

The Second Central General Meeting of your party also stated: "The arrival of dangers and difficulties can be expected. We must not, because of the dangers and difficulties in national affairs, relax on the performance of our proper responsibilities.... In regard to the fate of the nation, this party will devote all its mind and talent and persevere from beginning to end." True, your party is the political party in control of the largest part of China's territory, and the political responsibility of all measures introduced so far must be shouldered by you. Under the Kuomintang government of one-party dictatorship, the Kuomintang absolutely cannot evade its responsibility. Especially since the "18 September" incident, your party has violated the public opinion of the country, deserted the interest of the nation, followed an absolutely erroneous policy, and led to the loss of almost half of China. Such responsibility cannot be shifted to anyone else. In our view and that of the people of the entire country, as close to half of China has been lost through your party, we cannot but charge you with the responsibility of recovering the territorial sovereignty. Meanwhile, many conscientious persons in your party have now awakened to the dangers of losing the nation and to the force of public opinion and begun to change, to feel anger and dissatisfaction toward those in your party who have brought misfortune to the party and the nation. The Chinese Communist Party sympathizes completely with such changes and eagerly welcomes the determination and awareness of

those members of the Chinese Kuomintang who are patriotic and conscientious and who preserve, and are in the process of stimulating, the heroic bearing of the nation of China. We welcome their spirit of sacrifice and reform in face of the national crisis. We know that many conscious and patriotic people exist in your Party Central and provincial party units, in your Central and provincial governments, in the fields of culture, education, science, art, journalism, industry, women, religion, medicine, and police, in all kinds of people's organizations, especially the broad troops, and among the new and old members of the Kuomintang and the leaders of all levels, and that such people are growing in number every day. It is extremely encouraging. The Chinese Communist Party members are ready at all times to associate with such Kuomintang members and organize together a national united front against the biggest enemy of the entire nation--Japanese imperialism. We hope that these Kuomintang members will promptly form a controlling power in the party, overcome those members who disregard the national interest and serve as agents of Japanese imperialism, who are pro-Japanese spies and the worst and most shameful members of their party, and who constitute an insult to Mr Sun Yat-sen, revive the spirit of Mr Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary three principles of democracy, restore his three great policies of allying with Russia, the communists, and the workers and peasants, implement, with their "mind and talent," the three principles of democracy, the three great policies, and Mr Sun Yat-sen's last will, firmly shoulder the responsibility of continuing his revolutionary cause, resolutely expel Japanese imperialism together with the patriotic leaders and people of all parties, all factions, and all fields in the nation, and struggle against the destruction of China, for the democratic rights of the people, for the development of the national economy to relieve the greatest majority of the people from their miseries, and for the realization of a democratic republic of China and its democratic congress and a democratic government.

The Chinese Communist Party declares to all members of the Chinese Kuomintang: If you truly do so, we will firmly support you; we will be willing to form with you a firm revolutionary united front, similar to the great united front against national and feudal oppression formed by the two parties in the first revolution of 1925-1927, because it is the only correct path to avert perdition and seek survival today.

Gentlemen and the entire Kuomintang membership, most likely you have not forgotten the glorious history of the cooperation between the two parties in the previous revolution. As a result of such cooperation, all national and feudal oppressors trembled with fear before us. The national oppressors at that time, especially Japanese imperialism, deeply realized that our cooperation would lead to thorough victory and to the complete liberation of China. Thus, they provoked and alienated, threatened and induced, and resorted to extreme measures, and finally they succeeded in provoking one side of the cooperation and put an end to the first united front. When you gentlemen look into your conscience in the deep of the night, most probably you will heave a long sigh of regret. Now everyone knows

that, had the Chinese Kuomintang cooperated with the Chinese Communist Party to the final end, China would not have been in such a tragic situation today; China would have been an independent and free country! Today, the people of the entire nation hope urgently that the two parties will renew their cooperation and save the nation. They believe that only a renewed cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party and a general cooperation with all parties, all factions, and all fields in the nation will truly avert perdition and attain survival. Nevertheless, Japanese imperialism and the spies and traitors will inevitably again attempt to sabotage such cooperation, because they know full well that such cooperation will deal them a fatal blow. The "three great principles" centering on "anti-communism" proposed by Japanese imperialism to your party government is an attempt to forestall cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party and to prepare to destroy any cooperation. However, the issue is very clear. Will you join Japanese imperialism and the spies to build an anti-communist united front—a united front of national perdition? Or will you join the Chinese Communist Party and the people of the entire country to build a resist-Japan united front—a national salvation united front? The moment of decision is here. Any hesitation or vacillation is a loss to the state and the nation and a gain to Japanese imperialism. The key to our cooperation is in the hands of your party. As stated at the Second Central General Meeting of your party, in regard to the fate of the nation, your party has a responsibility. If you are truly willing to shoulder the responsibility of saving the nation and seeking survival, now is the time to make the decision. Once the nation is lost, there will be no point in discussing cooperation. It will then be too late to regret! As for us, we have long prepared to send our plenipotentiary delegates to any place at any time and discuss the concrete measures with the delegates of your party, in order to form promptly a concrete agreement to resist Japan and save the nation, and we will firmly abide by such agreement.

Once the united front between you and us, the united front among you and us and all the parties, factions, and fields in the nation, is successfully formed, then you and us and the people of the entire country will have the right to shout: Let the spies and traitors and all the spineless slaves shout in face of the might of Japanese imperialism that "China is not capable of resisting Japan," but the children of the great nation of China will never surrender, never capitulate! We will struggle for the independence and liberation of the great nation of China to the last drop of our blood! China absolutely is not Abyssinia! The nation of China of 450 million will one day stand up majestically in the east, raise high the banner of final victory of the national revolution, and, hand in hand with all free and liberated nations in the world, including the nation of Japan except its imperialist elements, control the entire globe! Control the bright and brilliant new world! Let our enemies tremble in face of our united front, for victory will be ours!

We extend to you our national revolutionary salute!

Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party

25 August 1936

° "Struggle," No 110, 5 September 1936

\* "Selections of Current Event Discussions," Chih-hsin Printing Press,  
1 May 1937

\* "Reference Material of China's Revolutionary History," Vol 3, Chinese  
People's University, 1957

"Guide to the Resist-Japan National United Front" (1), Resistance War  
University Training Department

"Records of Kuomintang-Communist Cooperation To Resist Japan"

6080

CSO: 4005

LETTER FROM MAO TSE-TUNG TO TS'AI YUAN-P'EI

22 September 1936

[Text] Dear Mr Chieh-min:

It has been 20 years since I listened respectfully to your noble discourses and magnificent theories in the classrooms of Peking University in the old capital during 4 May Movement period!

What kind of day is today? It is the day when the nation and the state are in desperation. The old like those of your generation, the middle aged like me, and the young like today's students, without distinction of rich or poor, of workers, peasants, merchants, or students, or of beliefs and preferences, will all fall into the hands of foreign aggressors. The rivers and mountains will no longer be our rivers and mountains; the people will no longer be our people; the cities will no longer be our cities. Such catastrophe of national perdition and racial extinction is unprecedented since ancient times in the whole world. How will you handle it? The Communist Party proposed creating a resist-Japan united front. As the people in the nation all find it feasible, you probably will also find it feasible. However, some among those in power may find it infeasible or suggest postponement. When the robbers enter the front door and one does not resist, when the tiger bites and one does not fight, when the people are led to a desperate situation, how will you handle it? Mr Sun Yat-sen's policy to ally with Russia, the communists, and the peasants and workers was effective in the first revolution of 1925-1927. The period of cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party was also the most revolutionary period of the Kuomintang. When Mr Sun's revolutionary policy was abandoned, civil war became continuous and external troubles, similar to a broken dike, became untrollable! Though only renewing a former proposal, the letter of 25 August from the Communist Party to the Kuomintang embodies actually the best means to avert perdition. How will you handle it? In the "New Literature" opinion statements, the name which appears foremost is yours. Seeing your name after 20 years, I feel a reverence and an intimacy. Mr Chieh-min, you expounded a brand-new theory different from the general run of new and old

reactionaries. You must realize that I was not the only one who rejoiced upon reading it, nor the Communist Party alone, but a countless number of people! From comrades to friends, it is again doubtless that those who rejoice over your sympathy for the cause to resist Japan and save the nation are definitely not limited to myself, or the Communist Party, alone, but all the conscientious sons and daughters of the nation. Nevertheless, one more step should be taken beyond the 100-foot pole and, if you take the lead with your sense of righteousness and make plans to block the wild tide at this critical moment of national perdition with your position as a great national leader of the Kuang-fu and T'ung-meng Societies and an academic leader of the Peking University and the Central Research Institute, not just by words alone, but also by action, not just with sympathy, but also by advocacy, and if you severely censure the Nanking government and ask it to stop the civil war immediately, abandon its erroneous policies of compromise toward the external and harsh demands of the internal, abolish its national perdition policy of punishing the patriotic and rewarding the treacherous, launch the army, navy, and air force of the entire nation for a true resist-Japan war, revive the spirit of Mr Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary three principles of democracy and three great policies, rescue our 450 million compatriots from deep water and searing fire, call a resist-Japan national salvation congress of all parties, all factions, all fields, and all military units, convene a national congress elected by the people, establish a national defense government united against the external, build a true democratic republic, place the country in a powerful and prosperous position, and promote the nation among the free and liberated, then, your name will shine through 1,000 generations, spread among the people of the whole nation, and become a household word. Instead of reducing in the least bit the enthusiasm of those who hear your words several thousand li away, you will enhance it.

Please remember me to Messrs and Mesdames Sung Ch'ing-ling, Ho Hsiang-ning, Li Shih-tseng, Wu Chih-hui, Chang P'u-ch'uan, Yu Yu-jen, Sun Che-sheng, Chu Chueh-hsien, T'an Li-ming, Liu Ya-tzu, Shao Li-tzu, Wang Ching-wei, Ch'en Pi-chun, Ching Heng-yi, Ch'en Kung-po, Ku Meng-yu, Tseng Chung-ming, Kan Nai-kuang, Chang Ching-chiang, Tai Chi-t'ao, Ch'en Kuo-fu, Ting Wei-fen, Sung Tzu-wen, Ch'en Shu-jen, Ch'u Min-yi, P'eng Tse-min, Li Jen-ch'ao, Li Te-lin, Ch'en Yu-jen, Tsou Hai-pin, Hsu Chi-lung, Chu Chi-ch'ing, Pai Yun-t'i, En-k'o-pa-t'u, Li Fu-lin, Ch'en Hu-fang, Ch'eng Sung-yun, T'ang Meng-hsiao, Chu Yi-chih, Li Hsieh-ho, Po Lieh-wu, Liu Chen-huan, T'an Yi-ju, Chang Chih-pen, Feng Tzu-yu, Hsieh Hui-sheng, Mao Tsu-ch'uan, Chiang Hsi-yen, K'ung Keng, Kuo Mo-jo, Shen Yen-ping, Ch'en Wang-tao, Li Ho-ming, Hu Shih-chih, Chang Hsing-yen, Chou Tso-jen, Ch'ien Chieh-p'an, Fu Szu-nien, Lo Chia-lun, Tuan Hsi-p'eng, Ch'en Pao-o, Chang Tung-sun, P'eng Yi-hu, P'eng Ch'uan-fang, Yang Tuan-liu, Hu Tzu-ching, Ch'en Feng-huang, Chou Ku-ch'eng, Shu Hsin-ch'eng, and all my old friends of the party and the state, academic teachers and friends, and friends in society.

As the catastrophe is imminent, I hastily present my opinions. Sharing the same boat in wind and rain, I hope to hear your instructions. I wish you good health.

Mao Tse-tung

22 September 1936

° "On the United Front--Our Advocation To Resist Japan and Save the Nation in the Past Year," mimeographed (→ hand copied) January 1937

6080

CSO: 4005

## EDITORIAL--CHAIRMAN MAO'S TALKS

15 October 1936

[Text] Soviet Central Government Chairman Comrade Mao Tse-tung today publishes his talks: "The Soviet Central Government and the People's Red Army Military Commission have issued an order.

"(1) All Red Army units will cease any attack of the National Revolutionary Army.

"(2) They are only permitted to take the necessary measures of self-defense when attacked.

"(3) All the personnel and weaponry of the National Revolutionary Army captured by us when it attacked us will be returned when the said army starts to resist Japan. Those who wish to join the Red Army may do so.

"(4) There may be no interference when the National Revolutionary Army is being shifted to resist-Japan positions, and all possible aid must be rendered. We have decided to again earnestly request all units of the National Revolutionary Army and the Nanking Government to stop the civil war against us and resist Japan together. The request is now being drafted. As currently the situation of Chahar, Suiyuan, and Shansi is critical to the extreme, we eagerly hope to cooperate with the Nanking Government in order to reach the goal of aiding Suiyuan and resisting Japan, and averting perdition and seeking survival. If the Nanking Government feels a sincere concern over the national calamity, stops the civil war, and sends troops to resist Japan, the Soviet wishes to aid it with its full power, and it is also willing to make the main force of the Red Army in the entire nation serve as the vanguard for a decisive battle against the Japanese bandits."

The people here find Comrade Mao Tse-tung's talks published today unsurpassable in earnestness and sincerity. Japanese imperialism and the spies are creating rumors every day, in an attempt to prove that the Soviet Red Army's proposal for a resist-Japan united front is merely a means to

overthrow the Kuomintang. Chairman Mao's words today have quashed by one stroke such rumors and slander. We know that his words will clear up the doubts in the minds of the patriotic elements in the Kuomintang and the National Revolutionary Army, because the Red Army has declared, through Chairman Mao, that it has no intention to capture the personnel and weaponry of any unit of the National Revolutionary Army, nor to eliminate its troops or overthrow the Kuomintang Nanking Government. The goal of the Soviet Government is to unite China by peaceful means, form a democratic republic of China, and expel Japanese imperialism from the country. Such advocacy has now been made extremely clear.

° "Mao Tse-tung's Talks on Stopping the Civil War and Resisting Japan" (mimeographed)

\* "Red China," No 307, 22 October 1936

\* "'Important Talks on Stopping the Civil War and Resisting Japan,' Mao Tse-tung on the Sino-Japanese War," Shensi People's Publishing House, October 1937

6080

CSO: 4005

LETTER FROM MAO TSE-TUNG, CHU TEH, AND OTHERS TO CHIANG KAI-SHEK

1 December 1936

[Text] Dear Mr. Kai-shek:

Since August of last year, the Communist Party Soviet and the Red Army have asked you many times to stop the civil war and fight the Japanese together. Response was unanimous from all parties and factions but you continued to pursue your own way, first by ordering the encirclement and suppression as manifested by the campaign of Chi-luo [4160 0925] township last winter. When we attempted to march toward the Hopeh-Chahar front by crossing eastward over the Yellow River, you blocked us at the Fen [3083] river basin. As we did not wish to expend the strength of our national defense needlessly, we headed west to find other means to oppose the Japanese, and, at the same time, published a proclamation to bring you to your senses. In the past several months the situation in eastern Suiyuan has become critical. Then we thought you would change course and dispatch massive forces to carry out the war of opposition against Japan. But who was to know that instead you sent only eight regiments under T'ang En-po [3282 1869 0130] to succor Suiyuan while amassing a huge force of 260 regiments under the command of Hu Tsung-nan [5170 1350 0589], Kuan Ling-cheng [7070 7792 1767] Mao Ping-wen [3029 3621 2429], Wang Chun [3769 0971], Ho Chu-kuo [5516 2691 0365], Wang I-che [3769 0110 0772], Tung Ying-pin [5516 5391 2430], Sun Chen [1327 7201], Wan Yao-huang [8001 5069 3552], Yang Hu-ch'eng [2799 5706 1004], Ma Hung-pin [7456 7703 6333], Ma Pu-fang [7456 2965 5364], Kao Kuei-tzu [7559 2710 3320], Kao Shuang-ch'eng [7559 7175 2052], Li Hsien-chou [2621 0103 3166], and others to form a savage army intent upon destroying the Red Army opposing Japan and savaging the Soviet areas battling the Japanese. We could not return in kind the hatred you have built up in your heart so we ordered our Red Army to stop attacking your troops and to retreat step by step in order to protect ourselves and our bases of opposition against Japan and we loathe its plundering offensives against us. Our enthusiasm is at its peak to aid the officers and soldiers fighting against the Japanese at Suiyuan. You, on the other hand, have concentrated all your forces to engage in a civil war of killing each other. Being in the field ourselves we know only too well the feelings and sentiments of the rank and file of the armies in the north-west, and there is no difference between theirs and ours. We greatly desire

to stop this suicidal civil war and go forth into the battlefield of war against Japan at an early date. Look at your own troops known as the crack brigade. They were unable to avoid the tragedy of the Shan Ch'eng Pao [1472 1004 0202] campaign. The reason is not that they were unable to fight but that they were unwilling to have Chinese fight Chinese and would rather surrender their weapons to the Red Army. Why do you not spend a night to analyze the differences between the objectives sought by the people and by the military and find the reason for it? Take heed of the worsening situation in Suiyuan, the weakness of the forces manning the fronts, the war of opposition along the Great Wall and the 28 January Campaign of Shanghai. The world is in turmoil. It rests on your honor alone to make the critical decision. It will come from you, and you alone, whether the civil war will end today and tomorrow, the Red Army, together with the mighty forces assembled by you in the northwest for suppression purposes, will march to the fronts of opposition against Japan. This will increase the defensive strength of Suiyuan a dozen times over, and it will enable us to avenge the nation, protect our lands, and recover lost territories. You will then be regarded as a glorious hero opposing the Japanese and the fragrance of your fame will remain for a hundred generations. Why don't you then take such a course? We have the courage to once more beg you in all sincerity to make a decisive decision and grant us our request to save the nation, transform enmity into friendship, and fight the Japanese together. This will not be a great good fortune for us alone, but it will also be the only way out for the people of the entire country. Today we have but two choices, fight or surrender to the Japanese. Vacillation will only bring about the destruction of the nation, slavery to us, loss of the faith of the nation, and eternal damnation. We do not wish to see later generations pointing at us and saying that the man who betrayed China was Chiang Kai-shek. Instead, we want the people of China to remember you as a hero who reformed in time to save the nation and the people. It is said, "Fear not to correct your errors," and it is also said, "the butcher who lays down his knife at once becomes a Buddha." We sincerely hope your honor will observe with care which path is to be taken. We wait with impatience your weighty decisions and knowledgeable counsel and of your intentions.

[Signed] Mao Tse-tung, Chu Teh, Chang Kuo-t'ao, Chou En-lai, Wang Chia-chiang, P'eng Te-huai, Ho Lung, Jen Pi-shih [0117 1732 2514], Lin Piao, Liu Po-ch'eng, Yeh Chien-ying, Chang Yun-i [1728 0061 6654], Hsu Shang-ch'ien, Ch'en Ching-chih [7115 2533 3112], Hsu Hai-tung [1776 3189 2639], Tung Chen-t'ang [5516 2182 1016], Lo Ping-fei [5012 3521 6540], Shao Shih-p'ing [6730 1709 1627], Kuo Hung-t'ao [6753 3163 3447], and the 200,000 men of the Chinese Red Army.

1 December 1936

- ° On the United Front--Our proposals during the past year for opposition against Japan and saving the nation. (Mimeographed) January 1937

8493

CSO: 4005

LETTER TO COMRADE LIN PIAO

1936

[Text] Comrade Lin Piao:

I am in full agreement with your letter. However, there is something I would like to add with regard to the cultural and educational aspects of the third section that form the most fundamental part of the entire educational plan (the nurturing of multiple abilities in the recognition of words, composition, reading of books, newspapers, etc.). It follows that the tool of culture is part of the "Practical" in accordance with the theory of equal importance of theory and practice you propounded. A student's further development will be restricted when he leaves school with everything learned but without the ability to read books and compose. Even though he has learned all that has to be learned, though not much in quantity or depth, but is able to read books and compose, then he will have a basic foundation of things which will be in frequent use after he leaves school. If you concur with this proposal I would suggest that in the next 4 months increase the curriculum on culture (recognition of words, reading books, composition, and other departments) in the second and third sections. I would like this to be increased to one-fourth or one-third of the entire study period (including the period for self-study). Please give thought to this problem, and make culture an important criteria at the time of scheduled examination. Salute.

° "Long Live Mao Tse-tung's Thoughts," April 1967.

8493

CSO: 4005

LETTER TO OLD COMRADE HSU

February 1937

[Text] Old Comrade Hsu:

Twenty years ago you were my teacher, you are still my teacher now, and you will still be my teacher in the future. When the revolution met with failure many of the Communist Party members deserted the Party and some of them even went over to the side of the enemy. In the fall of 1927 you joined the Communist Party, and the attitude you adopted was very much that of an activist. In comparison with many young, robust Communist Party members you were even more active, even more fearless of difficulties, and even more eager to studiously learn about new things during the long, arduous period of struggle since that time to the present.

All the obstacles and difficulties [associated with] old age and senility and feebleness have melted from in front of you. What about the others? They used these as excuses for not doing anything. You know much but frequently find yourself lacking while it is "half a canteen of water" pretending to be "a full one" with others. You are a thinking man, and you do what you say, but for others, something unclean hides in a corner of their hearts. You are with the masses at all times, but others are happy to be separated from the masses. In every way you showed yourself to be a model of obedience to the discipline of the Party and the revolution, while for others discipline is something to be applied to restrict others, and they themselves are exceptions. You are first for the revolution, first for work, and your first consideration is for others. Others put publicity, recreation, and themselves first. You always select difficult tasks to perform and you have never shirked your responsibilities. There are people who only want to select the easy and light tasks, and shirk responsibilities. In all these I have great respect for you. I am willing to emulate you, and also hope all the comrades in the Party learn from you. On your 60th birthday I am sending this letter to you as a greeting. I wish you good health and long life, and I hope you will become the model for all members of the revolutionary party and for the people of the nation. I give you my revolutionary salute.

° "Long Live Mao Tse-tung's Thoughts," April 1967

\* "Teacher's Journal," 18 January 1957

## TALK ON SINO-JAPANESE PROBLEMS AND THE SIAN INCIDENT

1 March 1937

[Text] On 1 March, the American authoress Smedley visited the Soviet area and met with Comrade Mao Tse-tung at Yen-an. They talked of the Sino-Japanese problems and the Sian Incident; the highlights of this conversation are as follows:

Smedley: Have there been any basic changes in the United Front policy now implemented by the Communist Party and the one that was discussed with Mr. Snow last fall?

Mao: Speaking from a basic viewpoint, there have been no changes, as manifested in the following:

I. Our United Front is anti-Japanese, therefore it is not against all imperialism but against Japanese imperialism because it is now launching aggression against China. However, we ask the British, the United States, France, and the Soviet Union to be sympathetic toward China's anti-Japanese movement, on at least not to oppose it. We are willing to establish friendly relations on these fundamental points.

II. Our United Front is a national one. It means that with the exception of traitors it includes the entire nation, all parties and factions, and all classes. It has been said that the Communist Party promoted the people's front, but this is incorrect. The Communist Party promoted a national front. In comparison with the popular fronts of France and Spain this kind of national front has a greater scope.

III. Therefore, the principal political program of this anti-Japanese National Front should include the following:

1. Domestic peace and unity;
2. Fighting a war of resistance against Japan;

3. Democratic freedom for the people'
4. The Nanking government is to be transformed into a true government of national defense which absorbs all parties and factions and oust the pro-Japanese faction;
5. Change in the system of government should be based upon a democratic republic with general elections for the national assembly;
6. Improve the people's livelihood;
7. Develop industry and commerce;
8. Unite with those countries in sympathy with the Chinese resistance against Japan.

Smedley: To what degree are you willing to sacrifice in order to bring the anti-Japanese National United Front to fruition?

Mao: A historical perspective is necessary. Since the beginning of the summer of 1927, the Kuomintang cast aside the United Front of the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, discarded Dr. Sun Yatsen's policy of uniting with Russia, the Communist Party, and the peasants and workers, threw away the political program of national independence and democratic freedom and also took a diametrically opposite course. This compelled us to reluctantly take up the responsibility of the Chinese revolution alone and to implement Soviet political power and the policy of agrarian revolution, thereby placing us in opposition to the Kuomintang. The policy adopted then, and which was in opposition against the Kuomintang, was entirely correct and necessary. However, following the 18 September Incident, the Communist Party published a proclamation requesting an end to the civil war and announced its willingness to contract an agreement under the three conditions with the Kuomintang to have internal peace and carry out a war of resistance against Japan. But only the 19th Route Army agreed with our proposal at that time while the Nanking government refused to do so completely and, at the same time, launched a massive encirclement and suppression campaign. When the North China incident erupted and the peril to the nation reached its most critical point, we further published on 1 August 1935 the proclamation to organize an anti-Japanese allied army and a government of national defense. In December of the same year we published a program for organizing an anti-Japanese National United Front Party and also set forth the guidelines for the United Front. This new policy was immediately accepted by the masses upon its proclamation, and many patriotic elements in the Kuomintang likewise agreed with and accepted this policy. This was because we were facing an even larger enemy and only by ending the civil war could we carry out the war of resistance against Japan and gain revenge. This set a new stage in Chinese politics. But the Kuomintang was still unwilling to discard its old policies. Last August we again wrote a long letter to the Kuomintang resolutely demanding that the target of antagonism be shifted from the internal one to that of the Japanese aggressors, that the three great policies of Dr. Sun Yat-sen

be revived, and also set forth the idea of transforming the national system into a democratic republic, convening a general election of the national assembly, to request it to repent the past and make a new beginning with the people. We announced that the Soviet area was willing to implement a similar democratic system throughout the nation. This letter received wide support from among the Kuomintang, but the central government of the Kuomintang did not answer our letter. The Sian Incident exploded and the nation was faced with a major crisis. The danger lies in the fact that Japan will seize this opportunity to launch its offensive, and the peaceful solution of this matter was indeed an act of providence. In order to consolidate internal peace and quickly launch the war of resistance against Japan, we sent an important cable to the Kuomintang on 10 February on the eve of the opening of the Kuomintang's Third Plenary Session. The cable carried the following points:

1. The Soviet Government will become the Government of the Special Region of the Republic of China, and the Red Army will become the National Revolutionary Army which will also be under the direction of the Nanking Government and the Military Commission.
2. A thoroughly democratic system is to be implemented within the territories of the Government of the Special Region.
3. The policy of overthrowing the national government shall cease in the country (this guideline was implemented last year, and we are reiterating this only).
4. The policy of confiscating the land of the landlords will be discontinued.

These new expressions were for the sole purpose of dispelling doubts among the various circles and nullifying the opposition in order to establish the Anti-Japanese Nation United Front with the Kuomintang. As for the Kuomintang, a program was set forth requesting a basic change in their former policies, waging war against the foreigners, practicing democracy domestically, and improving the livelihood of the people.

Smedley: How are you going to implement the principle of your United Front here and in other areas? For instance, toward businessmen, the intelligentsia, landlords, peasants, workers, soldiers, and other aspects.

Mao: There is not much difference now as in the past with regard to businessmen. From the outset we proposed the development of national industry and commerce, and wherever the Red Army goes they protect the businessmen. The Red Army won acclaim recently when they not only protected the businessmen but did not even confiscate land from a single landlord when they were in the area around Sian and Sanyuan. This is a well publicized affair. As for the Soviet area, commerce has complete freedom within it.

As in the past the present policy is to protect the intelligentsia, giving preference treatment to technicians, literary persons, and artists. Our attitude toward them is of respect.

We do not confiscate the land of the landlords so long as they do not oppose the policy of war against the Japanese and save the nation.

With regard to workers we adopted various methods to improve their treatment.

On the question of our attitude toward the Kuomintang troops, we should unite in a friendly manner under the national front, especially with the Whampoa troops with their glorious history, fight the Japanese together with our guns pointed against the foreign enemies, and stop all internal wars. Although the Red Army has fought the Kuomintang for 10 years, we are not bitter against them at all, and we are willing to shake hands with them and fight for the defense of the nation under a unified command, and we believe they hold similar feelings. We are all willing to consult the Kuomintang and people from various circles with regard to the aforementioned policies in order to reach a unanimous consensus of opinion and make this a guideline of the various important articles regarding policies against Japan, the system of government, and others, including all of them within the program of the national front so that they will be implemented throughout the country.

Smedley: Does the new policy of the United Front mean that Chinese Communist Party members will forego class struggle and become democratic for the sake of establishing the national front?

Mao: As I have said before, the practical policies that the Communist Party has decided to carry out have the sole objective of truly opposing the Japanese and defending the nation. Therefore, domestic peace must be realized and the situation of two regimes in opposition eliminated, otherwise a war of resistance against Japan will not be possible. This is known as minority interests taking a subordinate position to majority interests, placing class interests in subordination to national interests. All political parties and individuals in the country should understand this important significance. Communists will not chain their own viewpoints to that of the interests of one class of the moment. Instead, they are very sincerely concerned about the interests of the entire country and of all the people, and they are also concerned about long-range interests. With regard to class struggle, it is our opinion to suitably resolve this problem through endeavors on both sides as follows:

First, with regard to landlords and capitalists, they are wealthy and have power. They must first of all respect the national interest and take steps to improve the livelihood and treatment of workers and peasants. This is because if they carry on as before perpetrating unhuman oppression and exploitation of workers and peasants caring only for the interests of their own and of one class, then it will not be possible for the workers and peasants to exist, let alone fighting a war of resistance. The nation will be lost and the landlords and capitalists will also become colonial slaves. Therefore, landlords and capitalists with the least bit of conscience should express their love for the nation and agree to the improvement of the economic and political life of the workers and peasants made necessary by the war of resistance to save the country. There definitely cannot have a situation in which

only they have food to eat while the workers and peasants do not, and only they have political freedom while the workers and peasants have none. I believe that the running dogs of the Japanese, that is the traitorous elements, are the only ones who do not care for the general situation and the interests of the nation. Even at this crucial point of national and racial extinction they still put all their efforts into oppressing and exploiting the workers and peasants. With regard to this aspect of the demands, we have already presented them to the Kuomintang on behalf of the workers and peasants of the entire country, and the Kuomintang should have a satisfactory answer for us for the sake of the general situation and the national interest.

Second, the masses of poor and suffering workers and peasants are without wealth and power, but they are the foundation of the nation and the largest class. And at this crucial point of national and racial extinction, their most important task, similarly, is to resist the Japanese and defend the nation. Furthermore, they will become the main force for the war of resistance against Japan for national salvation which, without them will not be possible. When their economic life and political life have been reformed, their dissatisfaction with the landlords and capitalists and the Kuomintang will lessen. The workers and peasants, too, must also take into consideration the general situation and the national interests, therefore, we do not propose to make any demands which are not suitable to the war of resistance to save the nation. It is because for this very reason that the Communist Party proposed the improvement of people's livelihood and cessation of the confiscation of land.

There is no doubt at all that these policies set forth by the Chinese Communist Party are patriotic in nature. Some say, the communists are internationalists and do not care for national interests nor do they desire to defend the fatherland. This is complete nonsense. The communists are internationalists and are in favor of the one world movement. But at the same time, they are patriots defending the fatherland. For the sake of defending the fatherland they are willing to shed their last drop of blood. The 15-year national liberation struggle led by the Communist Party is known by everyone. This kind of patriotism and internationalism are not in conflict, because only with an independent and liberated China can there be participation in the one world movement.

Smedley: What will the conditions for peace with Japan be if the Chinese National Front Government is established? Should talks still be held between China and Japan?

Mao: If Japan desires peace we will not reject negotiations and our conditions for peace will be as follows:

First, Japan is to abolish its policy of aggression against China and abrogate its so-called mainland policy and the Three Principles of Hirota, respect the independence of China and relations between the two countries will be as equals.

Second, abolish the Yin Ju-keng eastern Hopeh government, Manchukuo, and return of the four provinces of Northeast China, and Northern Chahar.

Third, withdraw the troops garrisoning North China.

Fourth, stop Japanese airplanes from flying freely all over China.

Fifth, abolish all intelligence organizations in the various areas of China.

Sixth, prohibit violent and irresponsible attitudes extended by Japanese toward the Chinese within the boundaries of China.

Seventh, cease smuggling.

Peace talks should be carried out only under the condition that the Japanese agree to discuss these conditions. All negotiations leading to the sacrifice of sovereignty of Chinese territories will be opposed. However, you should understand that only with the establishment of a people's government in Japan can talks be carried out based on these conditions. Currently, Japan has a military government and such possibilities do not exist.

Smedley: Is the war against Japan inevitable?

Mao: It is unavoidable. Before the people of Japan overthrow their militarist government Japan will not desist in her aggression policies, therefore, war is unavoidable. The threat of war is further intensified with the pact between Germany and Japan.

Smedley: The Japanese say that cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party in China is an obstacle to peace in the Far East. What is your answer to this theory?

Mao: The so-called "Peace in the Far East" claimed by the Japanese militarists means that China should not resist but let Japan occupy it, taking it over as it pleases. At the same time those countries like Britain, the United States of America, and France who are concerned with the Chinese question also should not oppose them. This is "a country lost without a fight," and it is the "Peace in the Far East" that the Japanese militarists want. But there is another kind of peace in the Far East, and that is to carry out the steps I mentioned before--Japan is to abolish its policy of aggression, return the four northeastern provinces, withdraw its garrison troops, etc., so that the Chinese people can live peacefully, and peaceful commerce can begin between China and the various countries of the world. Of course, this is another kind of peace in the Far East. This is the only true peace which the Chinese people want, and which is also needed by all peaceful countries throughout the world. It is also something that the people of Japan want. It is only the Japanese militarists and their allies in aggression, Germany and Italy, the two fascist countries that do not want this kind of peace. Therefore, we can put it this way: The "Peace in the Far East" we oppose is the former

kind, and the one we approve of is of the latter kind of peace, and we propose substituting the latter kind of peace for the former. This is because the "peace" that is on the lips of the Japanese militarists is another name for war, and it is a synonym of slavery for the Chinese people. It is another name which threatens all the other peaceful countries of the world, and, by the same token, will bring the greatest harm to the Japanese people. In my view we should "obstruct" this "peace."

Smedley: Does contradiction exist between world peace and the Sino-Japanese war: Can a point of amelioration be found?

Mao: Of course there is. The majority of the people and the countries of the world desire peace, but the Japanese militarists hope for war. This kind of contradiction cannot be reconciled in accordance with the program of the Japanese. There is only one way to resolve this contradiction and that is for the peaceful countries of the world to join with China to oppose Japan's policy of aggression, compelling the Japanese militarists to bow to world opinion. In another respect, if war cannot be avoided China should fight resolutely in resistance. Only these methods will be compatible with world peace. The foundation of world peace can be established only on the policy of stopping and opposing aggression.

Smedley: Do you think such peace treaties as the Nine-Power Treaty, the Kellogg-Briand Pact and league pact will be able to stop Japan declaring war against China? What impact will these treaties have in the Sino-Japanese war? And what are their significance?

Mao: Today, it looks like as if these treaties truly express a hope for peace, therefore, the aggressor countries have manifested their determined opposition. But such treaties will only have the force of moral restriction of an aggressor country such as Japan. It will not be possible to stop them from declaring war against China. These treaties will have no influence on the Sino-Japanese war, therefore, it does not have any practical political significance. A new treaty must be available if it is desirable to stop Japan warring against China, and this treaty must include concrete measures to take forceful action against the aggressive violence of Japan, of the kind similar to the collective security of the Pacific that was negotiated. Only this kind of treaty can truly stop wars, and when wars erupt, they can also be quickly extinguished.

Smedley: Can China immediately go to war against Japan after the United Front Government has been established? Or will a considerable period of preparation be needed?

Mao: This depends on Japan. Regardless of when China is attacked by the Japanese, it should offer resistance immediately. However, we do not propose to provoke Japan. Since our policy is defensive warfare, we should rapidly set about making preparations in all respects thoroughly so that China will be able to handle any incident at any time. We are not against preparation, but we do oppose "long-term preparation" which seeks compromise under the pretext of preparation.

Smedley: Will the resources and finances available to the Chinese people be adequate to launch a victorious war of resistance against Japan without international aid, and can China shoulder the responsibilities of the finances and economics of war?

Mao: China must fight the war of resistance even without friendly troops, and with the resources and natural conditions China has prolonged warfare can be sustained. The 10 years of the Red Army's fighting history is living proof. But we are seeking friendly forces because Japan already has its bandit allies, and China cannot elect for isolation, and on this basis we propose that the five countries of China, Britain, the United States, France and Russia set up an allied Pacific Front. This kind of allied war front is to assist China, and, at the same time, it is mutual help. Japan's aggression is not only China's misfortune but also that of the world, as Germany is a great catastrophe to the world, and since these two aggressor countries have formed an alliance, I feel that the five countries of China, Britain, the United States, France and Russia should quickly unite as one or else face being destroyed one by one.

Smedley: Under the present circumstances--that is, under the situation of Italian-German-Japanese alliance--what impact will such a war have on the economy, finances, and commerce of Japan? Can Japan carry this war through successfully with the assistance of these two countries?

Mao: It is absolutely of no benefit to the Japanese people for Japan to carry out aggression against China. The final result of Japan's war against China will be the financial, economical, and political collapse of Japan. This fact is understood not only by the Japanese people, but even those bourgeoisie with foresight, but the Japanese militarists are completely blind to it. The Japanese militarists have already formed a world-wide league for aggression, and they hope to receive help from Italy and Germany in coordinated offensives. They hope to carry through the war of aggression against China using this method and get hold of the entire world as well. Of course their dream is perfect and satisfactory, but in my view, the end result will not be that way. The Chinese people should have the confidence of overcoming the Japanese in warfare.

Smedley: Why did the Communist Party elect for a peaceful solution to the Sian Incident? This was a complete surprise and we hope you will give us an explanation.

Mao: It is not an event that is out of expectations, but entirely within reason. It is simply that nobody connected it with the political proposals set forth in the past by the Communist Party. With the beginning of the Japanese aggression we have been willing to stop the civil war since only with internal peace can there be an anti-Japanese war of resistance. In such things as the announcement 4 years ago that we were ready to contract an agreement with the Kuomintang troops to fight the Japanese under the three conditions set forth, the proclamation made on 1 August of last year, and last year's letter to the Kuomintang all expressed our sincere desire

to establish a new United Front with the Kuomintang. During the Sian Incident there were people in the country who vigorously fomented civil war and the seriousness of it was critical. A peaceful solution would not have been possible without Chang Han-ch'ing accompanying Mr. Chiang Kai-shek back to Nanking on 25 December and follow up steps taken in accordance with Chiang Kai-shek's handling of the Sian Incident. Soldiers would have been everywhere and to what disastrous ending it would bring nobody would know. But it would provide the Japanese with the best opportunity for aggression, and because of this China might have been lost, or at least most grievously harmed. When the Sian Incident occurred, the Japanese militarists and some Chinese from the areas of Nanking, Shanghai, Peiping, and Tientsin claimed that it was a communist plot. That was completely false. The incident rose from differences in political views within the Kuomintang on the questions of resisting Japan and domestic reforms, and it was an incident that erupted suddenly of which we had no prior knowledge. After the incident there was opposition between Nanking and Shensi, and again there were people who claimed that the Communist Party was turning Sian into another Madrid. This is again completely at odds with reality. The political circumstances between the Chinese and the Spanish are fundamentally different. In Spain there was no other recourse but civil war, but in China, today, the only objective is to wage a war of resistance against outsiders, and there must be peace domestically. The peaceful solution to the Sian Incident has proved that these claims were mere conjectures and some of them were outright malicious lies.

Smedley: Many people claim that the Sian Incident was concocted by the Communist Party, and that red flags flew high over the walls of Sian. They also accuse the Red Army of seizing young men and women in the Sanyuan area. What are the facts of this case?

Mao: Red flags on Sian's walls must have been seen only by the Japanese and traitors, for they have yet to be seen by the people of Sian. As for seizing young men and women of Sanyuan, this must also have originated from the Japanese and traitors, and the truth can be found only by asking the young men and women of Sanyuan. In official documents it is still asserted that the Red Army kills and burns, oppressing the people and destroying the rural areas. They have repeated this over and over again for 10 years and they are still not tired of it and must say it again. Of course the person who made the statement has the freedom of speech, but the people of all China also have the freedom to look at the facts themselves. The government has not promulgated a law prohibiting people to take a look at facts with their own eyes, and anybody can go to those places where the Red Army has passed through or been stationed to see for themselves what the facts really are and there is no need for me to talk more about this.

Smedley: It is going the rounds that the policy of the Communist Party is to concede to the Kuomintang, surrendering to them and be repentant. What are your views on this?

Mao: I know there are people outside saying this, but of note is that the Japanese are not willing to say that. The Japanese want the Kuomintang and the Communist Party to fight each other, and they are absolutely against this kind of "concede, surrender, and repent" policy. Because the Japanese militarists deeply understand that regardless of whether people called it "conceding, surrendering, and repenting," such a policy adopted by the Communist Party toward the Kuomintang would mean in practice dealing a heavy blow against the Japanese policy of aggression. In viewing the Chinese problem there is one standard, and that is the Japanese will definitely oppose any policy that is revolutionary, and they will welcome any policy that is counterrevolutionary. It is only necessary to look at what the attitude of the Japanese is in order to investigate the correctness of any policy or action. By just taking a look at the way the Japanese oppose the so-called policy of "conceding, surrender, and repentance" will verify how revolutionary our policy is. The Communist Party requests the Kuomintang to and their 10-year-old policy and change to the new policy of national revolution and democratic revolution. These requests were expressed in the cable sent to the Third Plenary Session of the Kuomintang congress concerning the convening of a national salvation congress, democratic freedom for the people, improvement of the people's livelihood, rapid preparations for a war of resistance, and other matters. Under these circumstances the Communist Party is willing to change the names of its Soviets and the Red Army, and its opposition against the Kuomintang, and cease confiscating land from the landlords. These measures are without doubt a major concession made by the Communist Party to the Kuomintang. However, this concession was necessary because it is based on an even greater and more important principle, which is the urgency and need to resist Japan and save the country. This is known as mutual concession, and joint unity. With regard to the resistance against Japan, the intelligent people in the Kuomintang leadership and party members understood this significance. But there are people within the country possessing the Ah Q spirit who go about boasting that the concessions we made is "conceding, surrender, and repentance." It is well known that Lu Hsun, who passed away recently, wrote a story about a person known as Ah Q. This Ah Q is always victorious under any circumstances, although it would have been failure for others. Let them say what they wish, there are Ah Q's throughout the world. Besides, there are personages suffering from "left tending guilibility" and you can find them everywhere. Sun Ming-chiu [1327 0682 0046], who shot and killed Wang Yi-che [3769 0110 0772], is an extreme example of such people. Theirs is patriotic enthusiasm, and they are sorrowed by the historical tragedy of losing political power and home territories. They are pure hearted people but they lack political experience. They are unable to orient themselves when major events occur; they do not understand the relationship of the part to the whole in a situation, and they cannot distinguish the past from the present, the difference between today and tomorrow, and the connection between them. First, they opposed Mr Chiang's return to Nanking; later they oppose peaceful solution to the incident. As with regard to Sian, some of the people not only do not understand the Communist Party, but also do not understand Chang [1728], Yang [2799] and others who supported peace. They do not understand that although progress by the Kuomintang was slow, a united resistance against Japan still exists. In the Kuomintang and within

the national revolutionary army the anti-Japan fervor is mounting daily. The majority of the leaders and party members can join us and the people to work together for the cause of anti-Japanese national salvation war. The sincerity of the changes in the Kuomintang policies have yet to satisfy the people but a beginning has been made. From the resolution of the third plenary session comes evidence of these changes. They do not know how to make distinctions between the majority of those patriots and possible patriots within the Kuomintang from those elements that are actually betraying the nation, the so-called pro-Japanese faction, and they have these two mixed up. They also do not understand that the responsibility of all progressive elements in the country is to persuade those who do not understand our viewpoints for the moment and bring them around to an understanding so that we can face the common enemy. There must be patience in this work, and at times there must be concessions. So long as it does not go against the cardinal principle of anti-Japanese national salvation there is space for consultations. We can only submit the aforementioned self-criticism to those who have a high degree of impatience and do not understand our policies. But for those whose only thought is personal and group benefits and who have pushed national interests out of their minds, this will be no self-criticism regardless of whether they are the pro-Japanese faction or those giving lip service to resistance against Japan. It is also not a matter of a few words of sarcasm directed against them but a means to expose their schemes and prevent them from plying their trade.

Smedley: What is your attitude toward the Three People's Principles?

Mao: We have come to believe in the Three People's Principles long ago, otherwise how could we join the Kuomintang from 1925 to 1927? Many of the members of the Communist Party have been members of the Kuomintang's Central Committee and provincial party committee members. I was one of them, as well as Lin Po-ch'u [2651 0130 3255], Wu Yu-chang [0702 3768 4545], Tung Pi-wu [5516 1801 2976], Hsieh Chueh-tsai [6200 6030 0762], and Tung Wei-chien [5516 1919 0256]. Many of our people, such as Chu Teh, Chou En-lai, P'eng Teh-huai, Liu Po-ch'eng, Ho Lung, Lin Piao, Yeh Chien-ying and Hsu Hsiang-ch'ien, were former leading cadres of the Kuomintang's revolutionary army. The current task is to struggle for the actual realization of the revolutionary Three People's Principles. This is to say that nationalism for an independent and liberated China must be realized through the war of resistance against the outsiders, in order to realize democratic freedom internally, establish a system of general elections for the national assembly, republic with the power to the people, and improvement of people's livelihood to alleviate the sufferings of the people under the principle of people's livelihood. The Three People's Principles is not incompatible with our current political program, and we are asking the Kuomintang precisely for these things. In our letter to the Kuomintang of last August we requested them to revive the three principles of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. We are most resolute and most loyal in our struggle to bring about a China governed by the three principles. The agrarian reform policy practiced in the past is but the proposal of Dr. Sun Yat-sen that those who farm shall have their land. As to our continuing belief in communism there is no conflict there. When Dr. Sun Yat-sen was still living he agreed

to our continuing belief in communism. In recent times you can name it and you will find it in the Kuomintang. There are many in the Kuomintang who believe in capitalism, and there are also quite a few believers in anarchism. Some of them believe in Confucianism, Buddhism, the Methodist denomination--a conglomeration of all sorts of beliefs. It is necessary only for the current revolutionary political program to become unified and unanimous thereby forming a foundation of unity for national salvation, then all doubts will be dispelled and we shall take the path of facing the nation's peril together. The bright and prosperous future of China rests on this.

° Collection of Current Discussions, Chih-hsin Printing Bureau 1 May 1937

\* The Sino-Japanese Problem and the Sian Incident Collected Essays of Mao Tse-tung (On Certain Victory in the War of Resistance) (excerpts) The Ta-chung Publishing Co. December 1937

The Eighth Route Army (On Certain Victory in the War of Resistance in China), War of Resistance Publishing House, 10 December 1937

The Eighth Route Army Resisting the Japanese (On Certain Victory in the War of Resistance) War of Resistance Publishing House, January 1938

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CSO: 4005

## LETTER TO THE SPANISH PEOPLE

15 May 1937

[Text] To the armed comrades of the Spanish people!

We of the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese Red Army, and the Chinese Soviet hold the view that the war being fought under the leadership of the Spanish government is the most sacred one in the world. This war is not only being fought for the very existence of the Spanish nation, it is also a war fought on behalf of the oppressed peoples of the world. This is so because the Spanish people and its government are resisting the Italo-German fascist imperialists and Spanish rebels who are destroying world civilization, culture, and human justice. The Spanish government and its people are now fighting the Italo-German fascist imperialists who are now going all out to support the fascist imperialists of Japan who are attacking China in the Orient. The fascist imperialists of Japan are putting all their effort into China. After forcefully occupying our Four Northeastern Provinces, they launched their aggression against north and central China. Without the help of the Italo-German fascist imperialists, the Japanese fascist imperialists would not be launching such frenzied offensives against China as they are doing today.

The Chinese Communist Party is in full concurrence with the unification of all parties and factions on the people's front. Furthermore, we are also calling upon all parties and factions in China to unite and form a national unified front to oppose the Japanese fascist imperialists. This work is being carried out with utmost urgency. A victory for us will be a blow against the Japanese fascist imperialist, and this will also help the people of Spain and its government.

We believe that the struggle of the Chinese people cannot be separated from the struggle of the Spanish people. Today, the Chinese Communist Party is using its struggle against the Japanese fascist imperialists to help and encourage the Spanish people. The Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese Red Army, the Chinese Soviet, and the Chinese people are deeply moved by your victories on the northern and southern fronts and in protecting Madrid. The

newspapers in our Soviet areas daily publish news concerning your heroic and courageous struggle. We are firmly convinced that the unification of all parties in your people's front is the foundation for your final victory. We unreservedly concur with the 10 major guidelines set forth by the Spanish Communist Party.

Besides pointing out the similarity between your struggle and the struggle we are engaged in the East, we would like to mention that Trotskyite bandit elements have infiltrated our ranks. Only by resolutely opposing these internal renegades can we consolidate our fronts, and by launching a struggle opposing our own enemies we are also helping you in your struggle in Spain.

In China there are over 100 different newspapers and periodicals that publish news, articles, and photos and they are sympathetic with your heroic struggle for democracy and freedom. We know that your victory will directly assist us in our struggle against the Japanese fascist imperialists. The cause you are struggling for is our cause, too. We read with deep emotion about the International Brigade composed of people from various countries of the world, and we are very happy to learn that there are Chinese and Japanese participants. Many comrades of the Chinese Red Army are willing to go to Spain and join you in your struggle, and not a day passes without their discussing your struggle and the situation in the entire country of Spain. If there had not been the Japanese enemy to be dealt with, we would certainly have joined your ranks.

You all know that the Chinese Red Army has gone through 10 years of ceaseless warfare of the most difficult kind. There were no resources, hunger and cold were constantly with us, and there was no supply of arms and ammunition. But in the end we finally won our present victory. We understand that you and your troops are going through the same difficulties we experienced, but we believe that you will be victorious. Our 10-year struggle has taught us that if a revolutionary people and army oppose an enemy unwaveringly and without fear of difficulties, they will be certainly victorious.

We, the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese Red Army, the Chinese Soviet, and the Chinese people, extend our deepest comradely respect to the heroic men and women of Spain who are fighting for their democratic system. Through them is expressed the spirit of unlimited unity and friendship of the oppressed nations of the world. As we had done before, we shall continue to keep our attention focused every hour, every day on the course of your struggle, and we shall be happy and joyous with all the victories you win, and we believe that final victory will definitely be yours.

Mao Tse-tung  
15 May 1937  
Yenan, Shensi Province

- ° Collected articles of Mao Tse-tung, The Ta-chung Publishing Company  
December 1937  
National Savior Daily, Vol 123, Paris National Savior Daily  
18 September 1937

ON ANTI-JAPANESE DEMOCRACY AND NORTH CHINA YOUTH

1937

[Text] Question: How are the recent peace negotiations between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party going?

Answer: The talks are still in progress. The common political program for the two parties is of primary importance since it is the basis for their cooperation. If there is no such program cooperation will not be complete, and the principles underscoring the program are the revolutionary tasks of nationalism, democracy, and people's livelihood. On the reorganization of the military and the transformation of the Soviets, these concrete tasks will be carried out soon. So far, what the Kuomintang has expressed is still not enough, for example the charges brought by the leaders of the save the nation party of Shanghai. The various limitations set upon the rules and regulations governing the national congress and the treatment of Shanghai textile plant workers were quite disappointing.

Question: Has the danger of civil war been completely eliminated?

Answer: On the surface it appears that the danger of civil war has passed, however it still exists although it is not significant now. If peace is said to be wholly successful it will lead the people to slacken their efforts in the movement to "consolidate peace." Cessation of civil war on a nationwide scale still has not been achieved today. The Communist Party on their part has issued orders to Red troops dispersed all over the country to stop fighting, but the Kuomintang troops are still carrying on with their annihilation offensives. Fighting is still going on along the border areas of Fukien-Chekiang-Kiangsi, Hupeh-Honan-Anhwei, Hunan-Kiangsi, and the Hunan-Hupeh-Kiangsi provinces, and we are requesting the Kuomintang to stop their offensives against these areas. The opposition of Nanking and the local areas also exist. Only through exercising absolute democracy can these dangers of opposition and civil war be completely averted.

Question: What are the views of the Communist Party with regard to the various factions in Nanking?

Answer: We are willing to join with all those Kuomintang elements who are sympathetic with the national democratic revolution, as for those who are not we shall carry out the work of explanation to make them understand and not to interfere with the national democratic revolution. The Kuomintang left wing's approval for peace and the movement for democratic war of resistance is still developing, and they hope to see the entire country united, the Three People's Principles of Dr. Sun Yat-sen revived, and the Kuomintang reformed in order to revive its revolutionary spirit. A certain section of people are not resolute enough, they do not unreservedly accept the tasks of national democratic revolution and entertain doubts about cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party. They are struggling against the impact and the pull of the people's tasks which are pushing them to the side of the people. Another body of people, the so-called pro-Japan faction, also exist within the Kuomintang. The entire country, as well as the majority in the Kuomintang, are very much dissatisfied with them. If they do not change their attitudes they will be destructive to the people and to the Kuomintang.

Question: What kind of development was attained with regard to the United Front after the Sian Incident?

Answer: There was development in the United Front Movement after the Sian Incident, significantly the contact between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party. There were also modifications in the attitude of suspicion toward the policy of the Communist Party. They did not oppose the cooperation of the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, and there was also a diminishing in the views held by the "leftists" opposing the peaceful solution of the Sian Incident. However, distrust of the Nanking government still exists in literary circles, the student bodies, and the media, because Nanking, so far, has given no concrete expression of its willingness to thoroughly and resolutely change over. Many erroneous things were still held on to by the government, thereby leading to distrust throughout the nation. We say "everybody should work," but the complete changeover of the Nanking government must wait for the people to continue with their work and this is not necessary. There is hope for a United Front in the future. There must be unity within the country before we can attain the objectives of the war of resistance. This is quite obvious.

Question: What is the reaction of the various parties and factions within the country toward the United Front idea?

Answer: With the exception of traitors, all other parties and factions are in sympathy with the idea of nation-wide unity. Many of the bourgeois class have welcomed and agreed with the policy of peace obtained by the Communist Party during the Sian Incident. However, some of the obdurate personages adopted an attitude of opposition. If these elements do not change their attitudes they will be in actuality helping Japanese imperialism regardless of what their subjective viewpoints are. In accordance with what we have learned, it is precisely those traitorous elements who are directly under the command of the Japanese who are the fiercest opponents of unity within

the country. For instance, the likes of the Trotskyite elements are quite obvious examples. The activities of these elements are, beyond the shadow of a doubt, the activities of traitors. In dealing with this portion of people will use all available means to expose their plots so that they will not be able to deceive the masses and have the people of all China recognize them as the public enemy of the nation so that they will rise en masse and attack them.

Question: How will the problem of opposition between Nanking and the factions holding local powers be resolved?

Answer: The existence of this opposition between Nanking and the factions holding local power will be a disadvantage in dealings with foreign matters. It is our policy to diminish such oppositions as much as possible in order to attain the objective of uniting against the foreigners. In order to achieve such an objective the Nanking government and the various provinces should all take a step toward rapprochement. Foremost, there must be progress on the question of democracy, only thence can opposition be eliminated and we all step onto the great road of united opposition against the Japanese.

Question: How can a suitable solution be worked out on the question of class struggle in the policy of the United Front?

Answer: It will be impossible to eliminate class contradictions before the class system is done away with. Faced with the war against Japan, we must, however, seek a suitable solution for this problem. Therefore, in the program of the United Front, we proposed giving the people democratic rights in the political field, and improvement in livelihood in the economic field. It is inevitable that workers and peasants will rise in opposition when they are oppressed politically and economically, and this contradiction can be alleviated only by giving them democratic rights and improving their livelihood. We will set forth in the mutual political program now in the process of being negotiated with the Kuomintang that the workers will have the freedom of assembly, association, and speech and universal suffrage. Improvements must be made in the treatment of workers and in their working conditions. As for the peasants, there should be cuts in rents and taxes. With regard to the land problem it should be settled through legislation and other suitable methods.

Question: Why are you now stressing the question of democracy?

Answer: At other times I have talked a lot about the relationship between democracy and opposition against Japan. In order to secure peace and unity in the country, peace will not be consolidated and there will be no true unity if there is no democracy. It requires the participation of the people of the whole country to fight Japan and if there is no democracy the civilians cannot participate, and there will be no peace and unity. The war of resistance will become impossible without the participation of the people, and even if the fight is carried on victory cannot be guaranteed, therefore, the democratic system is a necessary condition for victory in the war of resistance against Japan and it is absolutely indispensable. Therefore, it is to be victorious against Japanese that we stressed the question of democracy.

Question: How are you going to promote the realization of political democracy?

Answer: The realization of political democracy is dependent upon the democratic movement. Political democracy will not be realized without the broad masses of people demanding for and giving impetus to the democratic movement; All parties and factions and various circles throughout the country should unite and struggle to win democratic rights. The military throughout the country should support this democratic movement. We can achieve victory over Japan and save China and avoid the danger of becoming a colony only by realizing political democracy and giving the people the freedom to take part in politics. In practical implementation of the democratic movement we must give our attention to the election, convention, and holding of the national congress. We should pay attention to winning complete freedom of speech, assembly, and association, as well as patriotism and saving the nation. These are the very minimum of democratic rights and if the entire nation turns in this direction it will be possible to realize a unified democratic republic.

Question: What is the attitude of the Communist Party toward the current national congress?

Answer: The current national congress is of national defense in nature, and, at the same time, it forms a bridge to cross from dictatorship to democracy. Therefore, the entire country should participate and the Communist Party intends to take part. With regard to the election, convention, and tasks of the national congress, the Nanking government has not been democratic about it. If they do not make any revisions then the congress will have very little effect, therefore, the entire country should join in requesting the Nanking government to revise those illegal regulations. The election of the national congress should have the participation of the people. Ample freedom should be permitted for convening and opening this congress and its task should not be limited to the discussion of the Constitution but must be expanded to discuss thoroughly and concretely the policy of fighting the Japanese to either save the country or lose it. The opinions of the Communist Party regarding the national congress have already been proclaimed to the country. They have also been proposed to the Kuomintang and talks are now being held. The objective is to have the congress accomplish the task of democratic opposition against Japan.

Question: What are the views of the Communist Party on the question of freeing political prisoners?

Answer: Long ago, the Communist Party requested the release of political prisoners throughout the country. This request is still being made and it is incorporated into the talks held with the Kuomintang. If the Nanking government desires to express a thorough transformation of its policy there is no reason why the political prisoners should not be freed. However, there has been no concrete expression from the Kuomintang presently on this question. Although they have verbally agreed to free political prisoners nothing of this sort has actually taken place. Besides, incidents of continuing arrests of patriotic prisoners have occurred. The trial of the leader of the Save the

Nation party in Suchow was a great disappointment for the people, and there were also many within the Nanking government who were dissatisfied. If the Nanking government sincerely desires to express its determination to make a new beginning with the people it should immediately release the seven leaders of national salvation and proclaimed them to be innocent.

Question: What suggestions do you have with regard to the question of preparing for the war of resistance?

Answer: We must immediately put up resistance regardless of when the Japanese imperialists launch its offensive against us. We are prepared to deal with incidents at any moment without regard to when or where the war erupts. But if Japan does not launch a massive armed attack against China for the moment and adopted a relatively mild policy during the period of preparation for aggression, we should then utilize this moment to take positive action in the work of preparing for the war of resistance. The "preparations" we have set forth has a different context from the principle of preparation propounded by the Kuomintang in the past. The Kuomintang's preparation theory is to pacify domestically first and then drive out the foreign enemy. It was a civil war with no defined boundaries, and an attrition on the forces to resist Japan. Today's preparations in the making are for stopping the civil war, consolidate domestic peace, realize political democracy, open the doors to all freedoms of the people to save the nation, organize the masses, train and arm them, and, at the same time, to accelerate the accomplishment of the preparation work for resisting the enemy in such areas as the military, political, finance, economy, culture and education. The war of resistance in China seeks final victory. The sphere of this victory is not limited to Shanhaikuan nor is it restricted to northeast China. It encompasses the liberation of Korea and Taiwan, and even the success of the people's liberation revolution in Japan. This is our proposal for the preparations for the war of resistance.

Question: What is your estimation of the conclusion of the Sino-Japanese war?

Answer: There are two possibilities for the conclusion of the war. First, China is completely victorious over Japanese imperialism, the Chinese nation gaining freedom and liberation, the success of the United Front within the country, a close unity between the government and the people, victory for the international peace front, support of the peace forces within the Japanese nation, striving to attain the conditions that will bring about such a future. But the most important and decisive condition for winning such a future is the self-unity of the Chinese people and a determined war of resistance. Without this condition the war of resistance is hopeless. Second, Japanese imperialism achieves its objective of transforming China into a colony solely its own. This danger also exists. This will happen only under such conditions as when the Chinese people are scattered and not united, offering no resistance or fighting a war of resistance irresolutely and haphazardly, and not uniting with their friends who are helping them. If the Chinese people continue to sleep, the enemy will take away their house. The Communist Party is struggling for the first one. Setting forth the proposal of a National United Front is to achieve this first future. We call on all parties,

factions, and classes to resolutely oppose the attempt to make China a colony and demand the freedom and liberty of China. We must struggle to the end with the enemy in order to achieve victory in realizing such freedom and liberty.

Question: What are your views on the recent closeness between Britain and Japan?

Answer: The rulers of Japan and the conservative government of Britain between them are planning to ameliorate their conflicts by carrying out negotiations of compromise in order to achieve their objective of sacrificing China. The Chinese people cannot allow them to carve up China as they please, and the Chinese people must give their closest attention to this matter. Should the Nanking government manifest vacillation and apathy in the task of protecting national interests, the people and patriots within the Kuomintang must not show them any mercy. At the same time we must realize that the compromise between the two countries of Britain and Japan has not yet formed a good base. It is true that there will always be the possibility of compromise between Britain and Japan but there is a limitation as to where and when. The British want to preserve the status quo, but its contents are easily mutable. This can be seen from the step-by-step retreat made by the British after 18 September. Basically, the policy of Japan to solely occupy China and the open door policy held by Britain and other imperialists are in opposition to each other. But temporary and partial compromises are possible because Britain can sell out the interests of China at any time in order to attain the objective which will be to its interest. Regardless of the degree of compromise reached between Britain and Japan, the Chinese people should not for a single moment drop their guard regarding the life and death of China, and in the movement to resist Japan we must not place too much trust in Britain. By understanding clearly the basic nature of the British we will not be taken in by them. China cannot be completely isolationist. Dr. Sun Yat-sen's policy of union with Russia has practical political significance today. The relationship between China and Russia should advance a step closer and be improved upon. The interests of the United States in the Far East is also incompatible with the continental policy of Japan, therefore, the United States should not be an idle bystander with regard to the question of China and we should make a distinction between the British conservative party and the broad masses of the British people. With regard to the British conservative party's policy on Western Europe, it vacillates between the peace front and the fascist front and it has already aroused great dissatisfaction among the country's people. If they once again hobnob with the Japanese aggressors to seek a compromise, they will not only arouse the opposition of the Chinese people but it is doubtful whether they will have the sympathy of their own people. The organizing of a world-wide peace front is proceeding in depth and breadth, and it is also making preparations to stop all fascism. The liberation movement of China is closely connected with the liberation movement of the world and our future is absolutely bright.

Question: What hopes do you hold for the youths of the North?

Answer: The youths of the North are the vanguards in the struggle for national liberation. The majority of them should unite and struggle to the end for national democratic revolution. Many among them are troubled by the situation, and a solution should be sought in a collective movement, and this movement is a struggle to realize democracy and the war resistance against Japan. The youths of the North should heighten their enthusiasm for achieving freedom of the people's livelihood. Striving to achieve the patriotic freedom of democracy forms one link in the core of the political life of today. For instance, if some people only talk about resisting Japan and do not understand the realities of the struggle for political democracy, then resistance against Japan will not be effective. The reformism of the bourgeoisie is having an impact on the youths of the North. Its attempt is to draw them from the front lines to the rear areas, from an environment of excitement to peace and quiet, and from positions of leadership to become followers, thereby extinguishing the leadership roles played by the youths of the North in the national democratic revolution, and the youths should struggle against such reformism and strictly examine the influence and trends of these reformists and completely overcome them.

° "Collected Articles of Mao Tse-tung," Ta-ching Publishing House, December 1937

\* Mao Tse-tung on the Sino-Japanese War (resistance against Japan, democracy, and the youths of the North), Shensi People's Publishing House, October 1937

"The People's Companion," Vol 1, 4th edition.

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CSO: 4005

LETTER TO BROWDER, SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE U.S. COMMUNIST PARTY

24 June 1937

[Text] Dear Comrade Browder:

Through the courtesy of a comrade's visit we are writing to you, our respected comrade Browder, a good friend of the Chinese people and a leader of the American people.

The Chinese Communist Party are similarly faced with a historical task. This task is no other than to oppose and overthrow Japanese imperialism's policy of aggression. The Chinese Communist Party is endeavoring to bring about a National United Front of opposition against Japan. Although our work is currently in the midst of a difficult period we have made progress, and we are also giving all our efforts to achieve the results we are working for. We hear from American friends and other sources that the Communist Party of America and the masses of America are very much concerned about the Chinese struggle against Japan and are giving us help on many fronts. This makes us feel that our struggle is absolutely not a solitary one. From the heroic and courageous aid given us from abroad we feel that when victory becomes ours, it will be very useful to the struggle of liberation waged by the American people.

The world is on the eve of a big explosion. The working class of the world and all people seeking liberation must unite and rise to engage in a common struggle. In closing I give you my revolutionary salute!

Mao Tse-tung  
24 June

This is a letter written on 24 June of this year by Mr. Mao Tse-tung to Mr Browder, the secretary general of the U.S. Communist Party on behalf of the Chinese people seeking the sympathy of the United States and the proletariat of the world for the struggle of the Chinese people against Japan. An important document, it has been selected for inclusion. (Original in English)

- ° "Collected Documents of Mao Tse-tung," Ta-chung Publishing Co., December 1937
- \* Famous articles of the War of Resistance, Wartime Publishing Co.

THE 8 JULY CABLE SENT BY GENERALS OF THE RED ARMY TO GENERALISSIMO CHIANG  
ON THE JAPANESE OFFENSIVE AGAINST NORTH CHINA

8 July 1937

[Text] To His Excellency, Generalissimo Chiang, Lushan

The Japanese have attacked Lukouchiao [Marco Polo Bridge], carrying out the planned stage of seizing North China with force of arms, and the news brings us unmeasurable sorrow and anger. Peiping and Tientsin are important cities in North China and it is impermissible to lose them again. We respectfully beg you to issue strict orders to the 29th Route Army to offer courageous opposition and order the Third Plenary Session to issue an edict for a war of resistance, carry out general mobilization country wide, defend Peking and Tientsin, protect North China, and recover lost territories. The officers and soldiers of the Red Army are willing to give their lives for their country under the leadership of the Generalissimo and fight the enemy in order to attain the objective of defending the nation and our territory. This is urgently submitted and we wait in readiness for your orders.

Respectfully, Mao Tse-tung, Chu Teh, P'eng Teh-huai Ho Lung, Lin Piao, Liu Po-ch'eng, and Hsu Shang-ch'ien.

° Guide to the Anti-Japanese National United Front  
Liberation Publishing House, April 1938

\* "Liberation," Vol 11, 7 August 1938

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CSO: 4005

THE 8 JULY CABLE SENT BY RED ARMY GENERALS TO SUNG CHE-YUAN AND OTHERS ON THE JAPANESE OFFENSIVE AGAINST NORTH CHINA

8 July 1937

[Text] The honorable messers Sung Ming-hsuan [1345 2494 6513] of Peiping, Chang Tzu-chung [1728 5261 1813] of Tientsin, Liu Ju-ming [0491 3067 2494] of Chang-chia-kou, and Peng Chih-an [7458 3112 1344] of Pao-ting:

The Japanese offensive has surprised and angered the nation, the courageous and heroic opposition put up by the 29th Army in the Lukuochiao campaign has become known throughout the country and the people are willing to back them up. We boldly request the planning of all the armies to fight in defense of Peiping and Tientsin and to protect North China. We shall not allow the Japanese to occupy an inch of our country's territory and we shall shed the last drop of our blood in its defense. The officers and soldiers of the Red Army are filled with righteous anger and are prepared to march at any given moment to follow your armies and engage the Japanese in a fight to the death. Besides cabling Generalissimo Chiang and friendly armies to kill the enemy, we specially submit this and await for your instructions.

Mao Tse-tung, Chu Teh, P'eng Teh-huai, Ha Lung, Lin Piao, Liu Po-ch'eng, and Hsu Shang-ch'ien.

° Guide to the Anti-Japanese National United Front  
Liberation Publishing House, April 1938

\* "Liberation," Vol 11, 7 August 1938

8439

CSO: 4005

FOREWORD NO. 1 TO 'RURAL INVESTIGATION'

6 October 1937

[Text] Of all the materials I personally collected from the rural areas during the period from the Northern Expedition in 1927 to my departure from the Central Soviet Region in 1934, only the following are left: (1) the Hsun-wu Investigation; (2) the Hsing-kuo Investigation; (3) the Investigation of Tung-t'ang and Other Places; (4) the Mu-k'ou Tsun Investigation; (5) the Land Distribution in Southwestern Kiangsi; (6) the Problem of Land Rental with Unharvested Crops; (7) the Mistakes in Land Struggle in Kiangsi; (8) the Rich Peasant Problem After Land Distribution in Yung-hsin; (9) the Two Initial Stage Land Laws; (10) the Chang-kang Hsiang Investigation; and (11) the Ts'ai-ch'i Hsiang Investigation. The last two had been published in "Struggle News" in the Central Soviet Region. The original manuscript of the other nine investigations, which survived the long march, are preserved. All the other materials were lost. The most regrettable loss is the Five Hsien (Changsha, Hsiangtan, Hsianghsiang, Hengshan and Liling) Investigation, done in Hunan in the spring of 1927. It was lost because of the Hsu K'o-hsiang rebellion. The Ningkan and Yunghsin investigations made in the spring of 1928 at the Chingkan mountains were lost because of the fall of the Chingkan mountains. The materials preserved here were all from the Central Soviet Region. The first nine parts reflected land distribution at its early stage. The last two parts reflected land distribution as it was thoroughly implemented. Incomplete as they are one can get a general idea from these materials. This is a kind of historical material in which some of the viewpoints were my opinions at that time and which I have subsequently changed.

Mao Tse-tung  
6 October 1937  
Yenan

1004  
CSO: 4005

INSCRIPTION FOR THE FOUNDING AND OPENING OF SHEN-PEI PUBLIC SCHOOL

1937

[Text] We should cultivate a large group of people. These people are the vanguards of revolution. These people have political farsightedness. These people are full of the spirit of struggle and the spirit of sacrifice. These people are frank, faithful and sincere, positive, and straightforward. These people do not seek self-interest, but are solely devoted to national and social liberation. These people are not afraid of difficulties, they always firmly and bravely go ahead in the face of difficulties. These people are not fanatic elements; or seekers of the limelight. Rather, they are people with their feet firmly on the ground and fortified with realistic spirit. If China has a large group of vanguards like them, the mission of China's revolution can be smoothly accomplished.

° "Long Live Mao Tse-tung's Thought," April 1967

\* "Mobilization," No 10, 23 October 1937

1004

CSO: 4005

TALK WITH 'HSIN-CHUNG-HUA PAO' REPORTER IN YENAN (ON ONE-PARTY  
DICTATORSHIP)

2 February 1938

[Text] Question 1: Is the present political system in the Soviet Union a one-party dictatorship?

Answer: The Soviet Union is a country under the dictatorship of the proletariat, that is, a worker-peasant socialist dictatorship state and not a state under a party dictatorship. From the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint, class dictatorship and party dictatorship are two different things. Party is only an organization of the most awakened people in a class. A party should and can only play a leading role in a country under a proletarian dictatorship. A party should not and cannot take the place of a class to effect a dictatorship. Therefore, Lenin and Stalin, founders of the political system of the Soviet Union, never mixed party dictatorship and class dictatorship as one problem. Instead, when occasionally borrowing the so-called term of "dictatorship," they referred only to the leadership function of the party in the country's political system. In order to enable you to understand and believe my interpretation, I am glad to introduce to you what Lenin and Stalin said about this problem. For the sake of recollection and understanding, I wish to introduce to you especially Lenin's opinion cited in Stalin's book "Concerning the Problem of Leninism" and Stalin's own opinion on this problem. In the section on "Party and Worker Class in Proletarian Dictatorship System" in this book, Stalin made detailed and clear expositions on Lenin's opinion on this problem. For instance, he said:

"For example, here in our Soviet Union, in a country under proletarian dictatorship, this fact should be regarded as the highest manifestation of the leadership role of the party. This fact is that our Soviet or other mass organization, in resolving any important political or organizational problem, must base its decision on the direction of the party. In this sense, it may be said: proletarian dictatorship, in fact, is the 'dictatorship' of the vanguard of the proletariat, or the 'dictatorship' of the party of the proletariat because the party is the basic

leadership force of the proletarian class." Please see Lenin's talk about this problem at the Second World Congress of the Comintern:

"(Tienaire) said: He advocates proletarian dictatorship, but his understanding of proletarian dictatorship is not entirely the same as our understanding of it. He thinks that the proletarian dictatorship as we understand it is in substance the dictatorship of a minority of the proletarian class who are well organized and awakened. It is true that during the capitalist era when the proletarian class was subjected to incessant exploitation and unable to develop their ability as human beings, the greatest characteristics of the workers political party is that this political party can include only a minority of its own class. The political party can only unite with a minority of its own class, just like the fact that in any capitalist society the really awakened workers constitute only a minority of all the workers. Hence, we cannot but admit that only this awakened minority can guide and lead the broad masses of workers. If Comrade Tienaire says that he is the enemy of the political party and at the same time advocates letting a minority of the best organized and most revolutionary elements give direction to the entire proletarian class, then I would say that there is actually no difference in opinion between us." (See "Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 25, p 347)

However, is this to say that we can put an equal sign between proletarian dictatorship and the role of party leadership (or party "dictatorship")? Is this to say that we can regard the former and the latter as one thing? May we substitute the former for the latter? Of course not. Of course, we should not say so. For example, Comrade (Sulin) had said that "proletarian dictatorship is our party's dictatorship." (Please see "Lenin's Theories on Party," p 95) This way of saying evidently regards "party dictatorship" and proletarian dictatorship as one thing. From the standpoint of Leninism, may we accept as correct this matter of regarding these two things as one thing? No, we cannot.

From this we can see that what is carried out in the Soviet Union is proletarian dictatorship, not the Communist Party dictatorship. To confuse class dictatorship with party dictatorship is neither in agreement with Marxist-Leninist theory, nor with the facts in the Soviet Union. I think, as far as the Soviet aspect of this problem is concerned, the opinion of the founders of the Soviet political system, Lenin and Stalin, is the most authoritative and most creditable.

Question 2: Although the Soviet Union is not under party dictatorship, why is there only one communist party in existence in the Soviet Union?

Answer: In one respect, this is the result of the choice of people's will during the long struggle among the various parties and factions in Russia. That is, the result of the fact that the Russians, in their long historical struggle, had become tired of and rejected other parties and only supported the Communist Party. In another respect, due to the fact

that in the socialist Soviet Union, there is no social base for the existence of other political parties, and consequently there is no necessity or possibility for the existence of other political parties. In order to make you understand and believe my way of interpretation, perhaps the best thing to do is to introduce to you what Stalin himself said on this problem. The fact that the Soviet Union has only one Communist Party in existence is not a result of the workers' manipulation or imagination, or the use of administrative order. It is, rather, a result formed by historical life. Concerning this point, Stalin said clearly in his talk with the First American Workers Delegation on 9 September 1927. He said:

"The position of our Communist Party, the position of being the only public political party throughout the country (the position of one-party monopoly) is neither created at will, nor out of empty imagination. This kind of position can never be deliberately created by the use of administrative order. The monopoly of our Communist Party grows spontaneously from actual life, and was gradually formed in history. It is the result of the total bankruptcy and the subsequent fall of the Socialist Revolutionary Party and the Menshevik Party."

In the Soviet Union, there is no social foundation for the existence of other political parties besides the Communist Party, and there is no necessity and possibility for the existence of other political parties. Concerning this point, Stalin made a special explanation in his report on the new constitution of the Soviet Union on 25 November 1936. He said:

"At last, there is another group of critics. If the above-mentioned group of critics blame the draft constitution of the Soviet Union for abandoning the workers class dictatorship, then this group of critics is just the opposite. They blame the draft constitution of the Soviet Union, saying that it has not changed the present situation in the Soviet Union at all. They say it has not given up dictatorship of the working class, and it does not tolerate the freedom of various political parties, and it still maintains the validity of the present leadership position of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union as before. At the same time, this group of critics regards the lack of freedom for various political parties in the Soviet Union as a sign of violation of the principle of democracy."

"I admit that the draft of the new constitution of the Soviet Union still retains the validity of the dictatorship of the working class as before, and preserves the present leadership position of the Communist Party without any change. If respectable critics regard this as a weakness of the draft constitution of the Soviet Union, then we can only express our regret. We Bolsheviks regard this as a merit of the draft constitution of the Soviet Union."

"As to the freedom of various political parties, then, our viewpoint in regard to this problem is slightly different. A political party is part of a social class, and the vanguard of that class. Only in societies where there are antagonistic classes whose interests are mutually antagonistic and irreconcilable with each other, in other words, only in a society where there are capitalists vs. workers, landlords vs. peasants, rich farmers vs. poor farmers, etc. can we talk about the existence of several political parties and the freedom of their existence. In the Soviet Union, capitalists, landlords, and rich farmers disappeared a long time ago. Today, the Soviet Union has only two classes of people, workers and farmers. The interests of these two classes are not only not antagonistic, but, on the contrary, are harmonious. Therefore, in the Soviet Union, there is no basis for the existence of several political parties, and consequently there is no basis for their freedom. In the Soviet Union, there is a basis for only one political party--the Communist Party. In the Soviet Union, only one party--the Communist Party which bravely and thoroughly safeguards the worker-peasant interest--can survive. The Communist Party has done a good job in protecting the interests of these two classes. About this point, few can doubt."

"Everyone is talking about democracy, but what is democracy? In capitalist countries, there are antagonistic classes. Democracy there, in the last analysis, is democracy for those who have power, and democracy for the minority who have property. Democracy in the Soviet Union, conversely, is democracy for the laborers, and democracy for all the people. From this we can see that what violates the principle of democracy is not the new constitution of the Soviet Union, but the constitution of the capitalist class. Therefore, I think the constitution of the Soviet Union is the only thoroughly democratic constitution in the world."

From this we can see that the existence of one party can only be achieved in a country with a social foundation like that of the Soviet Union where other parties have been totally rejected and overthrown by the masses of people during the course of revolution and where there is no other party in existence.

Question 3: How can Germany and Italy carry out one-party dictatorships?

Answer: First of all, we must make a clear distinction between one party in power in a country, and the real existence of one party in a country. It is true that in Germany and Italy there is only one party in power, but this is not to say that the political party in power is the only party in existence in these two countries. In Germany, the fascist National Socialist Party is the only party in power today, but all the other political parties before the fascist party came to power--the Social Democratic Party which had the support of hundreds of thousands of German voters during the last election (1933), the Communist Party which had 5-6 million voters, and other historical and traditional capitalist class parties in support of a democratic system with several

million voters--are still in existence and active, although their existence and activities are covert and illegal. Anyone who goes to German cities and rural villages to make a careful investigation will immediately see that although hundreds of thousands of anti-government party elements are confined in concentration camps, the Social Democratic Party, the Communist Party and other parties in support of democracy and against fascist dictatorships are still struggling secretly and bravely. They secretly publish papers and magazines. They are engaged in educating and organizing the masses of people under difficult conditions. The German political exiles in France, Czechoslovakia and Belgium are contacting political parties in Germany for establishing an anti-fascist, democratic people's front. In the leadership organizations of Social Democratic Internationale (or the Second International) and Comintern are seated delegates from the German Social Democratic Party and the German Communist Party. The situation in Italy is not any different from that in Germany. Similarly, the Italian Communist Party, Social Democratic Party and all other democratic parties are courageously and secretly conducting their anti-fascist activities. In the same manner, the delegates of these parties are establishing an anti-fascist popular front inside and outside of Italy. Delegates of the Italian Communist Party and Social Democratic Party also occupy important positions in the leadership organizations of the Third International and the Second International.

From this we can see, it is right if we say that in Germany and Italy there is only one party in power, and there is only one party which has legal status. It is totally unrealistic to say that there is only a fascist party in existence in these two countries.

Question 4: Some people say: Now Kuomintang should carry out "one-party dictatorship." What is your opinion on this problem?

Answer: First, if what you call "one-party dictatorship" refers to the control of national government by the Kuomintang alone, then this is a fait accompli today because, as everybody knows, all responsible persons in the national government are Kuomintang members, or persons whom the Kuomintang chooses to appoint of its own will. Up to now there is nobody representing other Chinese parties in the government. Our Chinese Communist Party is China's biggest political party outside the Kuomintang. Today we do not ask for participation in the government. This point has been frankly and earnestly announced on behalf of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party by our party leader Comrade Ch'en Shao-yu [7115 4801 4416] in his interview with American correspondent Pai Te-en on 25 December 1937, and by another leader of our party, Comrade Chang Wen-t'ien [1728 5113 1131] [or Lo Fu 3157 3940] in his article "Consolidate Kuomintang-Communist Cooperation To Strive for the Victory of the War of Resistance Against Japan" published in "Chieh-fang," No 28. On this point I wish to represent the Chinese Communist Party to make a serious announcement again: We of the Chinese Communist Party now

earnestly help the Kuomintang fight the Japanese, but we do not ask for participation in the national government at this time.

Second, the so-called one-party dictatorship, whereby one party controls the country's political power, does not necessarily have to adopt the method of "dictatorship." If the so-called "one-party dictatorship" method is actually equal to the policy carried out by the Kuomintang in the last decade, then I think it calls for consideration. In my opinion, although the Kuomintang is able to maintain its one-party control of political power, for the sake of concentrating all the talents to resist Japan and save the country and expressing the people's will of resisting Japan and saving the country, it seems that the Kuomintang should use considerably democratic measures. Of course, these democratic measures are measures absolutely beneficial to the war of resistance, and measures which will absolutely consolidate the government and further enhance people's support of and confidence in the government.

Question 5: Now there are people who say that the Kuomintang should carry out its "no party outside the party" policy. In other words, a policy which does not allow the legitimate existence of any political party except the Kuomintang. Sir, what is your opinion on this problem?

Answer: To allow only one party, the Kuomintang, legitimate existence means not only nonrecognition of the lawful existence of the Communist Party and other political parties (the National Youth Party, National Socialist Party, etc.), but is also an attempt to eliminate other political parties by armed force. This is not only not a new theory, but an old fact which has been carried out for 10 years. However, the miserable result of this fact is not only ceaseless internal strife, but also an invitation to unprecedented foreign aggression. The painful experience of China's actual political life in the last decade tells us: The Kuomintang's policy of attempting to eliminate other political parties by armed force has failed; meanwhile, the Chinese communist attempt to create a one-party leadership regime under China's existing conditions has not reaped the anticipated results. The experience of the first Kuomintang-Communist Party cooperation which resulted in the victory of the Northern Expedition and the serious national crisis caused by the Kuomintang-Communist Party split in the last 10 years has taught comrades of both parties and all the people of China a bitter truth; that is, the real effective way for creating a united China is not continued internal strife with one party opposing or attempting to eliminate another party, but pooling the strength of all parties on a common political basis to form a national united front; first of all, close cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party. The basic reason why China has been able to carry on the war of resistance against Japan in the last 6 months is the consolidation and unification of all national forces within the country. The specific formula and specific content is the formation of the national united front against Japan by various parties with the Kuomintang-Communist Party cooperation as the foundation. That

is, the Kuomintang and the Communist Party have not only abandoned their mutual nonrecognition and mutually antagonistic stand, but carried out hand-in-hand cooperation in the interest of the anti-Japanese and national salvation war. That is, the Kuomintang has abandoned its former stand which denied the existence of the communist and other parties and carried out the policy of uniting with all other anti-Japanese parties in the war against Japan. The Communist Party and other anti-Japanese parties also abandoned their former anti-Kuomintang stand and cooperated with the Kuomintang in pursuing the common cause of resisting Japan and national salvation. From this we can see that the forging of an anti-Japanese national united front by all parties and factions is a necessary premise for China's war against Japan. Lack of this premise or destruction of this premise will indeed put China in continued internal turmoil. Once China is in internal turmoil, there will be no way to continue the war against Japan. This is a truth easily seen and recognized by everybody. It is precisely because of this that the Japanese militarists always attempt to apply, in addition to their military aggression, the poisonous plot of "using Chinese to control Chinese." Their first attempt is to instigate another internal strife among the parties in China in order to destroy the Anti-Japanese National United Front. From this we can see, the theory propounded by some people today for banning all political parties aside from the Kuomintang is in fact a theory which has been negated by historical facts of China, as well as an attempt to push China back to a tumultuous situation which existed before the national unification for the war of resistance against Japan. At the same time, it will make the situation of a united China formed by the united front against Japan unable to continue, and subsequently creates again a situation in which China is powerless to resist Japan. Therefore, no matter how loudly the proponents of this theory shout "national unity," if unfortunately their theory is put into effect, the result would definitely be the destruction of the national unification already formed today. No matter how loudly the proponents of this theory give lip service to "resist Japan," if unfortunately their theory is put to practice, the result will definitely be the destruction of unification against Japan and we will be unable to continue the war against Japan. It is precisely because of this that I firmly believe that such a theory in the name of national unification but actually detrimental to unification, such a theory in the name of fighting Japan but actually harmful to the war effort against Japan, and such a theory which will draw China back to the miserable situation which existed before unanimous unification against foreign aggression, will definitely be opposed by patriotic people, definitely be negated by the armed units throughout the country, and at the same time definitely be denounced and rejected by the wise leaders and comrades of the Kuomintang who are dedicated to the country and the people and who are willing to continue the war against Japan. This is not strange at all because, first of all, this kind of theory is not in conformity with and runs against reality. These people say: If there are no other parties which also have legal status, then the war effort against Japan will be hampered by party squabbles. Facts have proved that when only one party, the

Kuomintang, was allowed to exist with legal status and other parties were not allowed to exist with legal status, China did have a very serious party squabble which had caused it to fail to resist Japan, or, at best, resist Japan in some places, and made China powerless to launch an all-out war against Japan. On the contrary, as soon as the Kuomintang allowed other political parties to have legal status and cooperated with other political parties, civil war stopped and party squabbles came to an end, and an unprecedented unification in both national administration and armed forces was achieved. Consequently, China became able to conduct an unprecedented sacred war of national defense for safeguarding national existence and seeking national liberation. These people say if other political parties are allowed legal status, then the legal existence of multiple parties will become an element hampering national unity or destroying national unity. Facts in China have proven that when only the Kuomintang had legal status and other political parties were denied legal status, the country became tumultuous and incessant civil wars ensued. Conversely, once other political parties were allowed legal status, national unity immediately emerged. Even though there were quarrels among the parties on certain problems, they never used firearms as weapons for criticism; at most they used mutual and friendly criticism as their weapon. Facts in England, the United States, France, Belgium, Switzerland and other countries prove that the legal existence of multiple parties has never hampered or destroyed their national unity. From this we can see, the theory that only when one party, the Kuomintang, is allowed to exist legally can China be unified and fight Japan is a theory incompatible with the actual life in China, and a theory which will make China neither really unified nor able to really resist Japan. This kind of theory can never be accepted by China's soldiers and civilians who support national unification and resolutely resist Japan.

Question 6: Now there are people who say, since the Communist Party has declared that it believes in the Three People's Principles then it can no longer believe in communism. Sir, what is your opinion?

Answer: First of all, I wish to say that since Communist Party members have declared that they will struggle for the realization of the Three People's Principles, some people say that this is tantamount to giving up their belief in communism. I wish to make a serious statement once again on behalf of our party: This is a rumor spread by troublemakers, and is absolutely untrue. We are Communist Party members. We declared that we are willing to struggle together with Kuomintang comrades to accomplish the unfinished revolution of Dr Sun Yat-sen--that is, the goals of the Three People's Principles for China's equality in international status, political equality and economic equality. At the same time, we will never give up our own communism which we have believed in for so many years and for which we have sacrificed and struggled for so many years. Next, some people say, if you declare that you will struggle for the realization of the Three People's Principles, but at the same time you believe in communism, then this is in contradiction to the stand

of the Three People's Principles because it and communism are incompatible. Concerning this point, I wish to point out seriously once again that this kind of saying is entirely wrong. This kind of saying is neither in agreement with the theory and the action of Dr Sun Yat-sen, the founder of the Three People's Principles and the revolutionary tutor of the Kuomintang, nor with the actual situation of China's revolution. Theoretically, the substance of the Principle of Nationalism, Principle of Democracy and Principle of People's Livelihood under the Three People's Principles are tolerable with such thoughts advocated by communism as the complete overthrow of imperialist oppression in order to enable the Chinese people to attain national independence, the complete destruction of feudalistic oppression in order to enable the Chinese people to have democracy and liberty, and the complete transformation of China's economic system in order to enable the Chinese people to enjoy a happy livelihood. Therefore, it is absolutely untrue that communism and the Three People's Principles cannot tolerate each other. It is, therefore, not impossible that our party and Kuomintang can lawfully coexist and cooperate hand in hand. Concerning this point, Dr Sun Yat-sen had clearly indicated more than once in his talks on the Principle of People's Livelihood. He said: "Hence, as soon as we talk about social problems, the majority of the youth agrees with communism. They want to carry out Marxism in China. What, after all, is the intention of those young patriots who accept communism? Their intention is good. Their ideal is to resolve the problem at its root, thinking that if we wish to set the basis of political and social problems right, the fundamentals of these problems must be resolved. Therefore, they actively organize the Communist Party and conduct activities in China. Now, our old comrades of the Kuomintang have a lot of misunderstanding about the Communist Party.

"....In ancient times, as soon as man conquered nature and animals, money came into being. Then machines were invented. Those extremely clever people monopolized all the material in the world for their own self-interest and wanted other ordinary people to be their slaves. So came an era of severe fighting among men. When will this kind of fighting end? It will not end until a new communist era is restored. In the so-called fight among men, what do they fight for? They fight for bread and jobs. When the era of communism comes, everybody will have bread and rice to eat so that there is no need to fight, and fight among men will be avoided. Therefore, communism is the noblest ideal for resolving social problems." (See "Chung-san Chuan-chi" [Complete Works of Sun Yat-sen], Vol 1, "Second Talk on the Principle of People's Livelihood," p 38) Regarding the value of Marxism, Dr Sun said: "As to the books written by Marx and the theories he invented, they represent the culmination of human thoughts over the last several thousand years. Thus as soon as his theory was made known, it was widely accepted all over the world. All the scholars believed and followed him."

From what I said before, you may see that from Dr Sun Yat-sen's own writings on the theories of the Three People's Principles you can never

find any indication that the Three People's Principles and communism are repugnant to each other. As to the indications of Dr Sun Yat-sen's actions on this problem, they are facts well known to everybody. The Communist Party was founded in 1921. Since its founding, Dr Sun had close relationship with members of the Communist Party. In 1924 when Dr Sun made up his mind to reorganize the Kuomintang, he openly cooperated with the Communist Party. The cooperation was very intimate. It had not only established a Kuomintang-Communist Party national revolution alliance, but also permitted Communist Party members to participate in Kuomintang organizations in their personal capacity to share the tasks of revolution. At that time, the Communist Party had only about several thousand members in the entire country, the party was founded only a few years ago, and Communist Party members joined the Kuomintang in their personal capacity to struggle together for the cause of national revolution. Under those circumstances did Dr Sun demand that those communist members should not believe in communism? No. Or under those circumstances, did Dr Sun propose that only the Kuomintang was allowed to exist and the Communist Party was not allowed to exist at the same time? No. He did not; rather he resolutely opposed anyone making such a request or advocating this idea. This is exactly why Dr Sun was great, farsighted and discerning because he deeply understood: the birth of any doctrine or any political party is not accidental; it has its social foundation and historical background. Nobody can be forced to believe anything, nor can anybody's belief be eliminated. In history there were numerous people who died martyrs for their beliefs. Any social foundation or organization supported by the masses can never be dispersed by force or eliminated. In history numerous revolutionary organizations continued to exist and develop under tremendous pressure and suppression. Today's situation is quite different from before. The Chinese Communist Party already has 17 years of revolutionary history. It has hundreds of thousands of members, a strong organization which has long combat experience, a leadership cadre which is unswervingly and bravely struggling for their doctrine, their party, their revolution, the Chinese people's liberation, and the liberation of mankind, and the faith and support of millions of people. How can we talk about eliminating the Communist Party members' faith in communism and their party organization? If we say that we should renounce our belief in communism just because we have declared that we are willing to struggle for the thorough realization of the Three People's Principles, this is entirely a misunderstanding because our understanding of the relationship between the Three People's Principles and communism is exactly the same as that of Dr Sun Yat-sen--that is, we think that they are good friends and can tolerate each other. Therefore, not only during the first Kuomintang-Communist Party cooperation had our Communist Party members struggled together with comrades of the Kuomintang for the implementation of the Three People's Principles in their capacity as Communist Party members, but also during our lone bitter revolutionary struggle after our split with the Kuomintang our objectives remained to be China's national independence, democracy, liberty and happy livelihood--objectives in conformity with the basic thinking of the Three People's

Principles. The difference between today's situation and that during the Kuomintang-Communist Party split is that during the split we Communist Party members struggled single-handedly for our own communist ideal as well as the revolutionary ideal of the Three People's Principles. Now the Kuomintang and the Communist Party are cooperating with each other again, we Communist Party members are struggling together with our comrades of the Kuomintang again for our common revolutionary cause. Therefore, under this condition, if there is any person who asks Communist Party members to give up their communist thinking and their organization, this is not only unacceptable to the Communist Party, but also in direct violation of Dr Sun Yat-sen's doctrines and actions. [omission] to promote the Three People's Principles is repugnant to communism." (See "Chung-san Chuen-chi," Vol 1, "Second Talk on the Principle of People's Livelihood," p 42) From this we can see that Dr Sun Yat-sen publicly pointed out that it was a mistake for some of the comrades of the Kuomintang to think that the Three People's Principles and communism are not compatible. Why has this mistake occurred? As Dr Sun Yat-sen has particularly pointed out in his talk ("Chung-shan Chuan-chi," pp 44 and 45), the reason is that these people don't understand the inter-relationship among the Three People's Principles in general, and that people don't understand the Principle of People's Livelihood in particular. Therefore, after giving the reason, Dr Sun continued in his talk: "Why dare I say that our comrades of revolution did not understand the Principle of People's Livelihood? It is due to the fact that during the recent Kuomintang reorganization many comrades, because of their opposition to the Communist Party, went so far as to say that communism is different from the Three People's Principles, that it is good enough to carry out the Three People's Principles in China, and that communism cannot be accepted. Then what, after all, is the Principle of People's Livelihood? In my last talk I raised a new question: What is the center of gravity of the development of civilization, the improvement of economic organization, and the progress of morality in society? The people's livelihood is the center of gravity. People's livelihood is the motivating force of all activities in society because if the people's livelihood is not satisfied, civilization of society cannot be developed, economic organization cannot be improved, and morality will degenerate. All injustices, such as class war, sufferings of the workers and various kinds of suppressions are attributable to the failure in resolving the problem of unsatisfied livelihood. Therefore, all anomalies in society are the effects, while the problem of people's livelihood is the cause. According to this reasoning, what is the Principle of People's Livelihood? The Principle of People's Livelihood is communism, or socialism. Therefore, in regard to communism, not only that we cannot say it is in conflict with the Principle of People's Livelihood, but we should say it is a good friend. Those who advocate the Principle of People's Livelihood should make a careful study." Continuing in his talk, Dr Sun Yat-sen raised the question: "Since communism is a good friend of the Principle of People's Livelihood, why do the Kuomintang members oppose communism? The reason is perhaps that members of the Communist Party themselves do

not know what communism is, and frequently make remarks opposing the Principle of People's Livelihood, thus causing hostile reaction from the Kuomintang. However, we cannot blame the entire Communist Party or its doctrines for the behavior of these ignorant and mischievous party members. We can only say that these are their personal conduct. Therefore, we should never use the undesirable personal conduct of a few Communist Party members as the standard to oppose the Communist Party; that is, we should not oppose communism as a doctrine on the basis of some personal conduct. Why should have this problem arisen among our comrades? The reason is that they don't understand what the Principle of People's Livelihood is. They don't know that the Principle of People's Livelihood, after all, is communism." From this passage of Dr Sun Yat-sen's talk, what conclusion can we draw? Our conclusion should be: First, the Three People's Principles and communism can tolerate each other and coexist. The Three People's Principles has good relations with communism. Second, those who think the Three People's Principles cannot tolerate communism actually are people who do not understand the Three People's Principles, especially the Principle of People's Livelihood. These people should be only an extremely small minority in the Kuomintang. Similarly those who think communism cannot tolerate the Three People's Principles are also actually people who do not understand communism, especially the relationship between communism and the Three People's Principles. These people should also be only an extremely small minority in the Communist Party. In regard to the solution of this problem, Dr Sun thought that this is only the personal conduct of certain members of both parties. One party should not oppose the other party as a whole or its doctrines just because of such personal conducts. Third, Dr Sun thought, not only should those who advocate communism understand the Three People's Principles, but also those who advocate the Three People's Principles should carefully study communism. This is a brilliant, open, and unselfish attitude. We Communist Party members extremely admire this attitude of Dr Sun's. Indeed, any great thought or doctrine in the world is not the patented commodity of a certain group of people or a certain party. It should and certainly will welcome anybody to study it and carry it out. Not only that we are willing to struggle for the implementation of the Three People's Principles but also that we welcome anybody--first of all, comrades of the Kuomintang, to study communism carefully according to Dr Sun Yat-sen's guidance. We are deeply convinced that all those who are willing to struggle for the liberation of mankind and really understand communism (or Marxism) must recognize that Marxism is the noblest ideal for resolving social problems and the best cumulation of human thinking over the last several thousand years. Communist society is the most satisfactory, happiest and the most fortunate society, which should not be regarded as something to be afraid of. It is precisely because of this that our country's greatest contemporary revolutionary Dr Sun said: "Judging by the actual situation in China, the first Kuomintang-Communist cooperation has led to the viable development of the revolution during 1925-1927, and the great victory of the Northern Expedition, while the split between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party has created an unprecedented serious situation

characterized by domestic turmoil and foreign aggression in the last 10 years." Now that the Kuomintang and the Communist Party are cooperating with each other, externally we are able to wage an unprecedentedly glorious war of national defense; internally we are able to achieve a political and military unification unprecedented in the last several decades and created a great unprecedented consolidation of all the forces of the parties and classes of the entire nation. This has made all our fellow countrymen and the people all over the world feel that this is the only opportunity and hope for survival during this critical moment of life and death struggle for the Chinese nation. Whether the legal coexistence of two doctrines and two parties is beneficial or harmful to the Chinese people and the nation should be adjudged by live and commonly known facts, not by biased or subjective wishes of a small number of people. The past and present ironclad facts in China have proved once again that as soon as the Three People's Principles and communism help and cooperate with each other, the country is unified and the revolution forges ahead; as soon as the Three People's Principles and communism oppose each other and negate each other, the country is divided and the revolution runs into difficulty. Therefore, any idea in violation of this fact cannot be carried out. If unfortunately such an idea is carried out it will definitely create new disasters for the country and the nation.

From this we can see, the opinion that the Three People's Principles and communism cannot tolerate each other and, as a consequence, the Kuomintang and the Communist Party cannot lawfully coexist is an opinion without foundation and detrimental to the liberation of the country and the nation. This kind of opinion is not only in violation of the bequeathed theory and deeds of Dr Sun Yat-sen, but also in contradiction to the actual situation in China. The danger of this opinion lies in changing the good domestic situation characterized by unanimous opposition to foreign aggression into a possible situation where people's eyesight is turned inward, thus causing internal trouble.

Therefore, at the conclusion of this interview, I wish to repeat and seriously tell you a few words on this problem. If the content of the so-called Kuomintang one-party dictatorship is Kuomintang control of the political power of the government, this is already fait accompli, and this is not a problem. Although we Communist Party members do not participate in the government ourselves, we absolutely support the national government which is leading the country in the war against Japan. Today, only the Japanese fascist militarists deny the authority of the national government and attempt to overthrow the national government. Today only those Trotskyists and their disciples who execute the will of the secret service agencies of the Japanese aggressors spread the rumor that the national government is a Karensky-type temporary and transit regime, and consequently adopt the traitor's policy of "perfunctorily accommodating on the surface" with the national government, but "actually preparing to bring about its downfall." The support and help of the Communist Party members to the national government are absolutely sincere, started from

the fundamental stand of the basic interest of the country and the nation. At the same time, if the content of Kuomintang one-party dictatorship is enlarged to or misinterpreted as meaning that the communist and other political parties are not allowed to exist legally, or that the Communist Party members are not permitted to believe in their own communism, then this is absolutely not a new theory, but an old fact. This is a return to the unworkable deadend road method of 10 years ago. If this idea is put into effect, it will be harmful not only to national unification, but also to the war effort against Japan. It will fragment the already formed national united front against Japan, and thus endanger the war of resistance and national salvation. This thinking will definitely be utilized by Japanese fascist militarists and Chinese traitors. It is precisely because of this that I can hardly believe this kind of thinking will have the sympathy of those knowledgeable persons in the Kuomintang who take the basic interest of the country and the nation seriously, not to mention the sympathy of those unbiased nonpartisan soldiers and civilians who value national unification and dedicate themselves thoroughly to the war against Japan. However, since this problem is publicly raised at this moment when the national crisis is increasingly acute, we cannot but seriously alert the Communist Party members, all political parties and fellow countrymen who are dedicated to the war effort against Japan and for national salvation. This concerns not only the relationship between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, but also all other parties and the fate of the entire Chinese nation. Therefore, I hope my fellow countrymen from all walks of life throughout the country and the farsighted discerning gentlemen of all parties would pay serious attention to the tendency of development of this problem, make every effort to insure that China's anti-Japanese national united front based upon the cooperation of all parties will not be threatened and the national unification, the anti-Japanese war, and the national salvation movement will not be endangered so that we can carry on the war to the very end and win the final victory for our country and nation.

° "Talk With HSIN-CHUNG-HUA PAO Reporter in Yen-an," 1939

\* "Liberation," 11 January 1938

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CSO: 4005

TALK WITH REPORTER OF ASSOCIATED PRESS

February 1938

[Text] Reporter: Now there are many people who are pessimistic about China's war against Japan. What is your opinion, Sir?

Answer: I am entirely optimistic about this because the course of China's war of resistance is inevitably one of defeat first and then victory, and one of initial weakness gradually turning strong. This has become a definite direction. In the early stage of the Sino-Japanese war, the general situation was that Japan was strong and China weak. But in the future Japan's weakness will be gradually exposed, and China's strength will be gradually built up. Japan is now borrowing money to wage the war. Aside from the 2.2 billion yen spent in the last 6 months, Japan is said to need 4 billion yen or more. This has greatly depleted its national strength. Japan's international credit has deteriorated, and the price of its bonds has dropped. Its "quick battle, quick ending" plan has failed. Let us ask how can it have so much money to prolong the war indefinitely? Militarily, Japan's battle front has been extended several thousand miles from Hangchow to Paotow. It does not have enough men to be deployed just for defense. Therefore, its military strength is gradually weakening in proportion to the extent of deep penetration and wide expansion. It occupies long stretches of railways, and troops have to be sent to guard each railway station. Japan has mobilized one-third of its armed forces to invade China. If it wants to occupy Hankow, Canton and other cities, it has to mobilize hundreds of thousands of additional troops. At that time, its situation will become worse. Japan's enemy is not China alone. Additionally, because of its domestic, international and other major contradictions, Japan will definitely be on the road to total collapse.

Question: Did you say, Sir, that China's strength can be gradually enhanced?

Answer: According to the war experience in the last 7 months, militarily if we can employ mobile warfare, position warfare and guerrilla warfare

and coordinate these three types of warfare, we can definitely put the enemy force in an extremely difficult position. In my opinion, at present, aside from using 200,000 to 300,000 crack troops to form a few strong field armies to launch annihilating attacks on the enemy's advanced units in a mobile warfare, we should also have 80,000 to 90,000 troops, organized into 20 or 30 hardcore guerrilla regiments with 3,000 to 4,000 men in each regiment, led by resolute and dynamic commanders and with their political work strengthened, deployed in front of the enemy's battle line from Hangchow to Paotow. These forces should fight their way to the rear of the enemy line through 20-30 gaps along this long battle front. If this strategy is properly applied, the guerrilla units can work together with the local masses and proliferate into numerous small guerrilla units which will definitely be able to establish numerous anti-Japanese bases behind enemy lines, mobilize hundreds of thousands of the masses, and forcefully coordinate with the mobile field armies and thus throw the enemy into discomfiture. As to position warfare, we should not regard it as our main strategy at present because we are technologically inadequate. However, we must build a national defense industry, and manufacture heavy and advanced weapons ourselves. At the same time, we should find ways to transport these weapons so that we can effectively conduct both defensive and offensive positional warfare. This is very necessary. Some people say that we only advocate guerrilla warfare. That is nonsense. We have always advocated the coordination of mobile, position and guerrilla warfares. At present, we are using mobile warfare as the main tactic, and the other two as complementary tactics. In the future, we should make position warfare effectively coordinated with mobile warfare. Guerrilla warfare, as a way of battle, is always complementary. However, guerrilla warfare in semi-colonial national wars, especially in countries with vast territories, occupies an important place in strategy. Politically, we already have domestic unity, and have the sympathy and support of the democratic countries all over the world. However, our present achievements are still not enough, and should be further strengthened. The strengthening of the aforementioned military and political positions is necessary. Only if we continue to exert our effort, can we strengthen our military and political positions, and this forecasts brightness in the future.

Question: Is the 8th Route Army being surrounded by the Japanese on all sides and facing the danger of being routed or annihilated by the Japanese?

Answer: The 8th Route Army is presently engaged in an enlarged guerrilla warfare in four areas. The first area is a pocket bordered by the Peiping-Hankow, Peiping-Suiyuan, Chengting-Taiyuan, and Tatung-Puchow railways and the adjacent areas to the east and the north of this pocket. This area has 12 million people who are resolutely against the Japanese, and working closely with the armed forces. This is a large bulwark of the war of resistance. The 8th Route Army has firmly established its foothold here. Although the enemy is stepping up its attack on this area, it is impossible

for him to chase them out, not to mention annihilating them. Several big branch units of the 8th Route Army advancing toward the east have now come close to Tientsin-Pukow Railway. The second area is in northwestern Shansi, south of the Peiping-Suiyuan Railway, west of the northern section of the Tatung-Puchow Railway, and east of the Yellow River. The third area is in southeastern Shansi and southwestern Hopeh bordered by the Peiping-Hankow, Chengting-Taiyuan and Tatung-Puchow railways. The fourth area is in southwestern Shansi. The 8th Route Army is intimately associated with the local people, ready to severely attack the enemy's communication line at any time. They have scored many major and minor victories, and greatly bogged down the enemy's advance forces. In view of these areas, what China has lost are only several railways and a few cities, and it has not lost anything else. This fact illustrates to the entire nation that if we adopt this method everywhere in the country, the enemy can never annihilate China. This is one of the solid foundations for launching an offensive in the future for recovering the lost territory.

Question: Sir, do you think this Kuomintang-Communist Party cooperation is of permanent nature?

Answer: I think so. The 1928 split was against the wishes of the Communist Party. The Communist Party has never wanted to split with the Kuomintang. In the last 10 years, both the Kuomintang and the Communist Party and the people all over the country had lived through hardship experiences which should strengthen future unification. The purpose of the present and future cooperation is to fight the Japanese together and to rehabilitate the country together. Under this principle, as long as our friendly party has the same sincerity as we have and as long as we have the supervision of the people of the entire nation, this cooperation will definitely be long lasting.

Question: True, the Communist Party in its declaration on the current situation has said that the Kuomintang and the Communist Party will not only fight Japan together, but also rebuild the country together after winning the war against Japan. But, may I ask how can these two political parties which represent two different classes of people cooperate with each other in building a new country?

Answer: China is in a semi-colonial status. Right now, it is in a critical moment facing the danger of being wiped out as a nation. Even its semi-colonial status is in danger. Although party is different from class, they share this same status. This has predetermined that the two parties can cooperate not only in resisting the Japanese aggression but also in rebuilding the country. But this cooperation is cooperation under a definite platform, and cooperation based on a principle. It must be genuine cooperation, not just for experience or appearance. If this cooperation is divorced from a common platform or principle, it will of necessity degenerate into expediency or cooperation only in appearance.

This is not permissible by any political party which stands by principle. Cooperation based upon principle and a common platform is comparable to the righteous friendship between two persons. Only this kind of righteous friendship can last long.

Question: What is this "democratic republic" advocated by the Communist Party?

Answer: The democratic republic we advocate is a country which has a system whereby its representative bodies are organized by representatives selected by people who are unwilling to be slaves through unrestricted universal election. This kind of country is a country based on the principle of people's rights. By and large this has been advocated by Dr Sun Yat-sen a long time ago. The policy of rebuilding China should be formulated in this direction.

Question: Is the Communist Party satisfied with the present central government? Is it still necessary to convene an ad hoc national congress?

Answer: We support the present central government because of its adherence to the policy of waging a war of resistance against Japan, and its action in providing leadership in this war. But we wish this government to substantiate and broaden its basis and make necessary reforms in its internal administration so as to be more beneficial to the war of resistance. We have proposed to convene an ad hoc national congress. This was also proposed by Dr Sun Yat-sen. In our opinion, it will be beneficial for consolidating the country and strengthening the forces for the war effort. As to what method we should use more beneficial to the war effort, we have no predetermined opinion. As long as it is really beneficial to the war of resistance, any method can be adopted.

Question: Does the Chinese Communist Party provide leadership to the anti-Japanese activities of the Volunteer Army in Manchuria?

Answer: The Chinese Communist Party indeed has a close relationship with the anti-Japanese Volunteer Army in Manchuria. For example, such famous Volunteer Army leaders as Yang Ching-yu [2799 7231 1342], Chao Shang-chih [6392 1424 1807], Li Hung-kuang [2621 4767 0342] and others are all Communist Party members. Their meritorious services in the hard struggle against Japan is well known to everybody. A national united front exists there also. Aside from Communist Party members, there are also other parties, other different armed units and mass organizations of the people. They have united under a common policy.

Question: Sir, what is your general thinking about the United States?

Answer: The American Democratic Party's support of international peace, President Roosevelt's condemnation of fascism, the Scripps-Howard

newspapers' sympathy toward China's war against Japan, and especially the support of the broad masses of American people for China's struggle against Japan--all these are welcome and for which we are grateful. But we hope that the United States will take a further step by uniting with other countries to give the brutal Japanese some real censure. It is time for China, the United States and other anti-aggression countries to take a further step in their unification against the enemy.

[Associated Press correspondent Mr Wang Kung-ta [3769 0361 6671] visited Yen-an in February 1938, and had a talk with Comrade Mao Tse-tung. This article is based on Mr Wang's minutes and previously checked by Comrade Mao.--Editor of "Chieh-Fang"]

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CSO: 4005

SPEECH AT RALLY IN COMMEMORATION OF THE 13TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DEATH OF  
DR. SUN YAT-SEN AND OF FALLEN OFFICERS AND MEN ON BATTLE FRONT

13 March 1938

[Text] Today is the 13th anniversary of the death of Dr Sun Yat-sen. We are here holding such a solemn commemorative rally. Meanwhile, the war against Japan has been going on for 8 months. Many brave officers and men have made the ultimate sacrifice. We are holding here such a grave commemorative rally. All these are not at random or accidental. They have their reason in the development of our nation's history.

Where does the greatness of Dr Sun Yat-sen lie? It lies in his Three People's Principles, his united front policy, and his hard struggle spirit. When I met Dr Sun Yat-sen in Kwangtung, the Kuomintang First National Congress was in session. The new outline of the Three People's Principles written personally by Dr Sun Yat-sen, that is, the famous "Declaration of the First National Congress of the Kuomintang," was adopted. At that time, the united front policy based on Kuomintang-Communist Party cooperation began to be put into effect. This united front included domestically uniting with the Communist Party, the workers and the peasants, and externally uniting with those nations which treat us equally to share the common struggle. The famous "Three Great Policies" were established at that time. Dr Sun Yat-sen's outline of the Three People's Principles and his united front policy are the greatest contributions to the Chinese nation from a great revolutionary of a country in a semi-colonial status. Dr Sun's greatness also lies in his hard struggling, unyielding, unbending and unfailing revolutionary perseverance and revolutionary spirit. Without this kind of perseverance, and without this kind of spirit, his doctrines and policies could never be carried out. The first sentence of Dr Sun Yat-sen's Testament, which we just recited a moment ago, said: "I have declared myself to the national revolution for 40 years." During those 40 years, he experienced much hardship and complicated situations, but the more he was frustrated, the more vigorously he struggled. Unyielding and unbending, he always came back with redoubled strength after each failure. When many of his followers showed signs of despair or were even ready to surrender or

desert the cause, Dr Sun stood firm. He insisted on his doctrines. During his lifetime, he had never neglected to develop his Three People's Principles. Never was there a time when he disregarded his doctrines. He always insisted on and developed his Three People's Principles. The Declaration of the First National Congress indicated the development of the Three People's Principles. So was his effort for the united front. Dr Sun had not only insisted on but developed the united front from a policy for the overthrow of the Manchus by uniting with all revolutionary parties and underground societies to a policy for the overthrow of imperialism and feudalism by uniting with the Communist Party, the workers and the peasants. All these, in combination with his fearless, unyielding, unbending, and undaunted revolutionary perseverance and his practical revolutionary spirit, portray Dr Sun as a model, great revolutionary. Today we have another united front. This united front is much more broadened than the last. The enemy with which this united front is dealing is much more formidable. The program this united front is to execute is basically the same as that stated in the Declaration of the First National Congress, although it has undergone some development in form and content. In the future, there will definitely be further developments. For attaining the goal of implementing the Three People's Principles, enlarging the united front and defeating our enemy, we must manifest our hard struggling, unswerving and uncompromising revolutionary spirit through revolutionary practice. If we are to commemorate Dr Sun Yat-sen not merely as a matter of perfunctory formality, we must pay attention to the following: First, struggle for the thorough implementation of the Three People's Principles. Second, struggle for the consolidation and enlargement of the anti-Japanese national united front. Third, manifest the hard struggling, unyielding, unbending and unfailing revolutionary spirit. I think these are the most pertinent, most substantial and the greatest heritage left by Dr Sun. All Kuomintang members, all Communist Party members and all patriotic countrymen should accept and develop this heritage! To judge whether one is a loyal disciple of Dr Sun, we should see his attitude toward these three precious heritages.

Now let us talk about the commemoration of our fallen officers and men in the war against Japan. Since the Lukou-chiao incident, a great war unprecedented in the history of the Orient has lasted 8 months. The enemy has thrown in all available forces. Their purpose is to wipe out China. Its strategy is to win a quick victory through a quick war. How about us? We have also employed all our available forces to resist. Our purpose is to defend our fatherland. Our strategy is protracted warfare. In the last 8 months, our land and air forces gave a heroic account of themselves, a great national unity is carried out throughout the country, several million troops and numerous people have joined the fireline, and several hundred thousand of them have heroically given their lives while executing their duties. Among them, many were Kuomintang members, many were Communist Party members and many others were nonpartisan. We sincerely mourn for those who are dead, and we shall remember them forever. From Generals Meng-ling [6787 1125 7881],

T'ung Lin-ko [0157 7792 7040], Chao Teng-yu [6392 6260 4416], Jao Kuo-hua [7437 0948 5478], Liu Chia-ch'i [0491 1367 4388], Chiang Yu-chen [1203 3768 6297], Ch'en Chin-hsiu [7115 6930 4423], Li Kuei-fan [2621 2710 0030], Huang Mei-hsing [7806 2734 5281], Yao Tzu-hsiang [1202 1311 7449], and Pan Chan-kuei [3382 0594 7608] to each warrior, all were noble and great models for the Chinese people. The Chinese nation is not a flock of sheep. Rather it is a great nation richly marked by a sense of self-respect and human righteousness. For national self-respect, human righteousness and their right to live on their own land, the Chinese people will never permit the Japanese fascists to achieve their lawless purposes without paying a heavy price. Our methods are war and sacrifice. We use war against war. We use a revolutionary war for righteousness against a barbarian war of aggression. This spirit has been proven during the several thousand years of our national history. Now, another great proof is given. It was for this proof that General Ho Meng-ling and several hundred thousand men have sacrificed their lives. We are sure that the Japanese fascists will make further advances. They will attack Sian, Chengchow, Wuhan, Nanchang, Foochow, Changsha and Canton. They want to devour all of China. But we wish to inform the fanatic enemy that his objective can never be attained. The enemy should not think that he has achieved his purpose after occupying our territory. He has not and will never achieve his purpose. In the verdict of history the victory of the Japanese fascists can only be temporary, not permanent. There are enough reasons to prove that the eventual victory belongs to our side. When the war comes to an end, they can only occupy a part of our territory, it being impossible for them to occupy the whole country. If they can fight a quick war for the cities, then they will have to fight a protracted war for the vast rural areas. For example, they have occupied several main roads and several cities in Shansi, but the vast countryside, which is many times bigger than the occupied areas, still belongs to China. We have to tell our fellow countrymen this reason. The Japanese can only achieve a partial occupation of any province. They do not have enough strength for deployment. In addition, their barbarian policy has angered every Chinese. China has a huge army and hundreds of millions of people. It is carrying out an excellent national united front policy. All these have predetermined which side is going to win the protracted war and the final victory. In the future, if Japan occupies a larger part of China as a result of bloody battles, we can use the remaining smaller part as our base to continue the war and win victory. But in the larger portion of China, Japan can only occupy big cities, main roads, and some plains. If we can organize and arm the majority of our people in the countryside and establish many anti-Japanese bases, such as the bases we have established at Wu-tai Shan, we will have the Japanese army surrounded. Someday, after all important party, political and military tasks are improved on a nationwide basis, our outer-perimeter force will be coordinated with our inner-perimeter forces for a well concerted big offensive. At that time our effort must also be coordinated with the support of the revolutionary forces of the world and the support of the people's revolutionary force in Japan. Who can say that the final victory will not be China's?

Who can say that General Ho Meng-ling's blood was shed in vain? Who can say that the Japanese robbers will not be driven out of China? Who says that Dr Sun Yat-sen's three great ideals--national liberation, freedom of people's political rights, and happy livelihood--cannot be carried out in China? We want all Chinese people to have this kind of clear understanding and firm conviction. We want them to understand that the best policy is to wage a protracted war. Under the leadership of the central government and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, we must in this great war, with one heart, break the shackles or the threatening shackles for slaves.

At this rally, we wish to salute all the officers and men on the front because they are fighting heroically for the final victory. We wish to salute all the family members of our soldiers who are engaged in this war against Japan, especially the family members of those who died martyrs in this war because these families have produced such soldiers who fought so valiantly for their country unafraid of sacrifice. We wish also to salute all those devoted, self-denying and public minded workers and leaders at all levels and in all walks of life engaged in the war against Japan in the rear because their work has directly or indirectly helped the war effort. At this rally let us salute our national leader and commander in chief Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek because of his unyielding, unbending and unfailing leadership in waging and directing this great war against Japan.

Fellow countrymen at this rally! Fellow countrymen all over the country! Let us be united forever! Down with Japanese imperialism! Long live China's national liberation!

\* "Liberation," No 33, 1 April 1938

\* Guide to Anti-Japanese National United Front, (4), Liberation Press, April 1939

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CSO: 4005

NOTICE OF THE REAR AREA OFFICE OF THE 8TH ROUTE ARMY OF THE SHENSI-KANSU-NINGHSIA BORDER AREA GOVERNMENT

15 May 1938

[Text] The public is hereby notified:

Since the Lukouchiao Incident, the entire country and nation's forces and patriotic fellow countrymen under the leadership of the central government and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, are dedicated resolutely to the war of resistance against Japan. The officers and men on the battlefield are shedding their blood and sacrificing their lives. All parties and factions are sincerely united. People from all walks of life are making a concerted effort to save the country. These are strong safeguards for a bright future for China as a nation and a victory against Japan. All our countrymen should march ahead along these lines. The soldiers and civilians in the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia border area are a constituent part of China. They obey the leadership of the central government and exert their efforts to prevent their country from perishing. Everything we have done has been open and upright. We struggle hard without claiming any credit. All the people in the country regard us highly in their conversations. This office of the border area government cannot but encourage all people in the area to exert their effort in order to thoroughly carry out our mission. Not a single person is allowed to neglect his duty, and nothing should be done to jeopardize the task of national salvation. Recent investigations reveal that there are some elements who, in disregard of the general situation, use different methods to compel the peasants to return the land and houses already distributed to them, or compel the debtors to repay their already abrogated debts, or compel the people to change the already established democratic system, or sabotage the already established military, economic, and cultural organizations, and other mass organizations. They are even disguised spies who contact bandits to instigate rebellion in the armed units, survey the land and draw maps, secretly investigate local situations, and openly oppose the propaganda of the border area government. These conducts are evidently in contradiction to the basic principle of unification for fighting Japan and in violation of the public opinion of the

people in the border area. They attempt to create internal trouble, instigate class struggle for destroying the united front, destroying people's interest and destroying the prestige of the border government, increase the difficulty for mobilization against Japan, and create skepticism in the mind of the people toward their supreme commander and the central government. This is attributable to a few stubborn elements who, disregarding the interest of the country and the nation, willfully pursuing their whimsical wishes and even being utilized by the Japanese aggressors, misrepresent themselves as a means to camouflage their covert activities. In the last few months, many reports were received from people in various hsien. There are several such reports each day causing an unusually heavy work load. In order to strengthen the war effort against Japan, consolidate the rear area, and protect the interest of the people, this office of the border government cannot but forbid the above-described activities. It is deemed appropriate to notify the public as follows:

(1) In the territory under the jurisdiction of the border government, all land and houses distributed and all debts nullified at the beginning of domestic peace in the country should not be changed at will as this office of the border government must protect people's obtained interests.

(2) All military, political, economic and cultural organizations already established and all such organizations established, improved or developed according to the principle of national united front against Japan at the beginning of domestic peace in China should be guarded against intrigues and sabotage as this office of the border government must protect their activities and promote their development.

(3) Under the principle of resolutely carrying out the central government's platform for war of resistance and national reconstruction, this office of the border government is glad to promote any anti-Japanese and national salvation activities, and welcomes people from all walks of life to give their bona fide assistance. However, all those who entered and then stayed in the border area without the consent of this office or the border government or without any identifying documents issued by this office or the border government are forbidden to engage in any activities, no matter what activities they are, in order to prevent imposters, traitors and spies.

(4) During this tense period of war against Japan, people are allowed to inform on and arrest, if there is concrete evidence, elements who attempt to sabotage, willfully create trouble, incite people, or covertly gather military information in the border area. If the accusations are found true, severe punishments will be meted out without exception.

All the soldiers and civilians in the entire border area must observe and not violate the above four points. Any who dare to instigate trouble are hereby warned that these words are followed by law enforcement. Don't say that they are not forewarned.

Chairman Lin Po-chu [2651 0130 3255]

Director Hsiao Ching-kuang [5618 0513 0342]

1004

CSO: 4005

REPLY CABLE FROM CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE TO U.S. COMMUNIST PARTY NATIONAL CONGRESS

June 1938

[Text] The 10th National Congress of the U.S. Communist Party and Chairman Foster and Secretary General Browder of the U.S. Communist Party Central Committee sent a congratulatory cable to the Chinese Communist Party Central. Upon its receipt, the Chinese Communist Central immediately replied. The text of the reply is as follows:

In care of the U.S. "New York Workers Daily,"

Chairman Foster and Secretary General Browder of the U.S. Communist Party Central Committee and all delegates to the 10th National Congress: On behalf of the Chinese Communist Party Central and the entire membership, we salute the vanguard of the American worker class--the vanguard which dedicates itself to the defense of peace, progress, and democracy of America, and we wish to thank your party and the people of America for their support and sympathy for China's National Liberation War.

Support the close unity between the brother parties and between the peoples of China and America! Long live the independent, free, and happy new China!

Mao Tse-tung, Chu Teh, Wang Ming, Chou En-lai, Lo Fu, Po Ku,  
Hsiang Ying, Ch'en Yun

"New China Daily" (Ch'ungking), 8 June 1938

6080

CSO: 4005

TALKS WITH MESSRS (K'O-LO-MAN), (YA-TE), (FU-LU-TE), AND (LEI-K'O-NAN) OF  
THE WORLD STUDENT FEDERATION DELEGATION

Yenan 2 July 1938

[Text] Question No 1: What are the significance and function of the Border Region in China currently? Please tell us. We wish very much to clarify this point.

Answer: You must understand the nature of the Frontier before you can understand its significance and function in China. What is the nature of the Border Region? In a word, it is a democratic anti-Japanese base.

First, in regard to the people, they all have their own organizations. The people of the Border Region, as long as they remain under the principle of resisting Japan, all have their freedoms of speech, publication, meeting, and forming associations. Be they organizations of workers, peasants, merchants, students, intellectuals, women, children, or free lances, all of them have such freedoms. The Communist Party and the Border Region Government actively support and aid them, enabling them to develop more generally. Here, only the traitors are restricted in their activities. In regard to the traitors, no freedom is granted them.

Next, the Border Region has become the region directly involved in the resistance war. A part of the 8th Route Army is stationed here, and there are also local armed forces. In regard to such troops, there is a democratic spirit in the relationships between the officers and soldiers and between the troops and the people, so that there is unity between the officers and soldiers and between the military and the civilian, resulting in an invincible force in the resist-Japan war.

Thirdly, education in the Border Region is also anti-Japanese and democratic. You can see this spirit in the Anti-Japanese Military and Political University and the Northern Shensi Public School.

Fourthly, this also holds true in the economic aspect. The principle is to benefit the resistance war, and the operation is by the democratic spirit. The fairly developed cooperative here and the agriculture of the peasants

who have obtained land, for instances, are all based on such spirit, improving the people's life and benefiting the resist-Japan cause. Here, we have taxation, but no harsh levies and vexatious collections. We implement a sort of unified progressive tax, compatible with the principle mentioned above.

Fifthly, which is the most important, all levels of the Border Region Government are elected by the people by means of voting. Here, we have proved one point: The claim of some people that, "among the intellectually backward workers and peasants, the election system cannot be introduced" is incompatible with the facts. The result of popular election here is not bad, which anyone with eyes can see. When the people elect those they like to handle the affairs of the government, the result is very good. It is much better than the system of appointing government officials. It is especially positive and effective in mobilizing the people's strength to participate in the resist-Japan war. What is different from the Soviet of the past is that the sphere of voting and being elected has been enlarged. Be they workers, peasants, women, intellectuals, students, merchants, or property owners, as long as they do not oppose resisting Japan and are at least 18 years of age, they have the right to vote and to be elected.

All the aspects discussed above link the resist-Japan war with the democratic system and will produce a great effect. Under such a system, regardless of his occupation or activities, everyone can manifest his talent. Individuals with whatever skill can bring it to light.

Such is the nature of the Border Region--the characteristics of the Border Region. Once one understands such nature and characteristics, one will understand its national significance and function. The nation should also adopt this system. It should link the resist-Japan war with the democratic system, striving for victory of the resist-Japan war by the general introduction of the democratic system. If, in the whole nation, the people have full freedoms of speech, publication, meeting, and forming associations, the officers and soldiers in the army become one, the military and the civilian become one, education is pursued with the democratic spirit, economic construction is carried out by launching the strength of the people and linked with improving their life, the election system is introduced for all levels of the government, and the people's representative organs are formed on all levels, all for the purpose of striving for victory in the resistance war, then victory over Japan can be expected soon. The democratic system is already a matter of history in foreign countries, but China has yet to introduce it. The function of the Border Region is to set an example for the people of the entire nation, so that they will understand that this system is most beneficial to resisting Japan for national salvation, and the only correct war to resist Japan and save the nation. This is the significance and function of the Border Region in the nation. To have this system adopted in the whole country, the people of the entire country must truly understand it and find it feasible. Therefore, we welcome the people of all parties and factions, and those without party or factional affiliations, to come and take a look. Many have come and looked, especially the young students.

Aside from a minority who find this system not good, the majority find it good. This is encouraging. The Border Region is a part of China. Under the leadership of the central government, it is similar to other parts of China, except for one point: This is an area which practices the democratic system. It is the characteristic of the Border Region, and we hope it will spread throughout China.

Currently, there are two kinds of incorrect views of the Border Region: Some few obstinate elements say that nothing is good in the Border Region. Apparently this view is incompatible with the facts. Others say that this area is similar to paradise, without any defect. This view is also excessive. One should describe it correctly as follows: Its democratic system and anti-Japanese spirit are very good, and deserve the emulation and reference of the people of the entire nation. Nevertheless, the work here is still restricted by certain conditions, and material difficulty is one instance. Many tasks await continued effort before they can be more successful. It is not a situation where everything is excellent and no improvement needs to be sought. Therefore, we welcome the criticism of outsiders in order to make the work personnel here strive harder. This must also be pointed out. Now that you have favored us with your visit to Yen-an, we welcome your criticisms, pointing out the defects for us to correct, and making it more beneficial to the great cause of resisting Japan to save the nation.

Question No 2: What is the function of the Chinese Communist Party in China at the present time?

Answer: This is a very simple question. Persevering in the resistance war, persevering in the United Front, and persevering in a war of endurance constitute the basic principle of the Chinese Communist Party at the present time and its work and function in the entire nation.

What is persevering in the resistance war? To compromise or to persevere in the resistance war is an existing issue. We advocate resistance to the final end and oppose any kind of compromise. We wish to persevere in the resistance war together with the Kuomintang and other parties and factions and the people of the entire nation, without wavering, until we recover our lost territory and reach the Yalu River.

What is persevering in the United Front? It means national unity to the very end. Only when there is national unity will there be perseverance in the resistance war. Though there is national unity at present, we must unite even more. Not just uniting several parties and factions, but we must unite the people of the entire nation. Only when the people of all fields in the nation are united in a definite organization and when they can all activate their positivity in the resistance war will the United Front be consolidated and expanded.

What is persevering in a war of endurance? China now has two types of people. Those of one type say: "China will perish; it cannot wage a war of endurance."

Those of the other type say: "China will soon expel Japanese imperialism; there is no need for a war of endurance." We find both views incorrect. First, China definitely will not perish. Though Japan is powerful, its foundation is inadequate, and it has many domestic and international conflicts; though China is weak, it is a large country, and it has many superior domestic and international conditions. Therefore, though China has lost much territory, it can persevere in the war and will win final victory. However, it is difficult to defeat Japan soon, because, while there are conditions making victory possible, such conditions cannot be completely realized within a short period of time. Be it China's progress, Japan's internal collapse, or international aid, all require a fairly long period of time before the goal is reached. Hence, we must prepare for a long-term war, and we must not hope for immediate victory.

Thus, the current policy must be: First, persevering in the resistance war; second, persevering in the Anti-Japanese United Front; third, persevering in a war of endurance.

What does the Chinese Communist Party do in the country? The items discussed above are what it does. The Chinese Communist Party wishes to unite with all parties, all factions, and the people of the whole country and implement the policy. This is the function of the Chinese Communist Party in the entire nation.

Question No 3: Does China have the conditions to shorten the duration of the war?

Answer: To shorten the duration of the war, three conditions must be re-enforced: First, China's United Front must be further consolidated and expanded. This is fundamental. Under the policy of the United Front, all items of work must be greatly developed and advanced. Such development and advance will shorten the war by that much. The second condition is the help of the people inside Japan. Currently, such help has started, such as the unwillingness of the Japanese soldiers to fight, some committing suicide, some surrendering, and other distributing anti-war handbills. The anti-war thinking of the Japanese people is also developing. If the soldiers and people of Japan will become more aware, the duration of the war will be shortened by that much. The third condition is the help of the various nations in the world. We need the help of the world students, the help of the world people, and also the help of the governments of the nations. If such help becomes greater and more prompt, then the war will be shortened. These three conditions are mutually linked. If China accelerates its progress and its unity, it will, in turn, accelerate the development of the helping strengths inside Japan and of the nations in the world. If the development of the helping strength in Japan and the nations of the world is accelerated, it will, in turn, accelerate the development and progress of the anti-Japanese strength in China. China's blow to Japanese imperialism constitutes an aid to the Japanese people, and it will hasten the development of the liberation struggles of the Japanese people. This applies to the world also. China's resistance war is, at the same time, an aid to the people of

the world against our common enemy. Therefore, the many kinds of anti-fascist forces of China, Japan, and the world are mutually influencing and mutually aiding one another. World peace cannot be divided; the world is one entity. This is the characteristic of world politics at present. The greater the presence of the three conditions, the shorter will be the duration of the war. It is the mission of the Chinese Communist Party and all the anti-Japanese parties and factions and people, and also that of all the progressive parties and all the peoples of Japan and the world. Ours is a war of endurance, but we must strive for the conditions to shorten it. Without such conditions, the idea of shortening the war will be merely an empty thought.

Question No 4: After the final victory of the resistance war, what will be the main mission of the Chinese Communist Party?

Answer: After the victory of the resistance war, the main mission of the Communist Party, in a word, is to build a free and equal democratic nation. In such a nation, there will be an independent democratic government, a congress representing the people, and a constitution consistent with the people's wishes. In such a nation, all the races are equal, and they will build their relations under the principle of equality. In such a nation, there will be an independent democratic government, a congress representing the people, and a constitution consistent with the people's wishes. In such a nation, all the races are equal, and they will build their relations under the principle of equality. In such a nation, the economy will develop; agriculture, industry, and commerce will progress greatly, jointly operated by the state and the people. There will be an 8-hour work system; the peasants will own their land; the unified graduated tax will be enforced; there will be peaceful trading with foreign countries, and agreements of mutual benefit will be formed. In such a nation, the people will have complete freedoms of speech, publication, meeting, association, and religion; all types of superior talents will have a chance to develop; science and culture will be advanced; illiteracy will be wiped out in the entire country. In such a nation, the troops are not opposed to the people, but become one with them. Such a nation is not yet a socialist state, nor its government a Soviet government, but a state and a government practicing a complete democratic system and under the principle of respecting private ownership. Such is China's modern state. China greatly needs such a state. With such a state, China will depart from the semi-colonial and semi-feudal position and become a free and equal nation; it will depart from the old China and become a new China. The Communist Party desires to unite with all parties and factions and the people of the entire country, so that everyone will strive to build such a nation. Such a nation has been desired and striven for by the people of the entire country for several decades and by Dr Sun Yat-sen. The building of such a nation is not started the next day after chasing Japan to the Yalu River. All items of work in the process of the resistance war are connected with the building of such a nation, except that many important tasks, such as basic economic construction, can only be completed after the victory of the resistance war. During the resistance war, we must have the prerequisites for the building of such a nation, and the main thing is to expel Japanese imperialism. Such a mission is not only that of the Communist

Party, but should also be that of the Kuomintang and other revolutionary parties and factions as well as that of the people of the entire nation. It is China's historical mission.

Question No 5: What do you think are the main tasks of China's students and young people in the resistance war? What are the main tasks of the students and young people of the world in the movement to aid China?

Answer: The tasks of China's young people may be classified into the general and the specific. The general tasks are identical with what has been discussed before. They are to persevere in the resistance war, to persevere in the United Front, to persevere in a war of endurance, to expel Japanese imperialism, and to build a free and equal democratic republic. These are the common tasks of the people of China regardless of their age or occupation, without any distinction. The distinction is in the specific tasks. What are the specific tasks of China's youths? Their specific tasks are to strive for their own specific interests, such as improvement of education and learning, the right to participate in the movement to save the nation while in school, the right to organize student and youth groups and to form national salvation organizations, the right to vote and to be elected for those 18 years of age or over, the right of the impoverished to attend school without paying tuition, the obligation of the young people to go to the front line in large groups, etc. As for the main tasks of the world youths in helping China's resistance war, I feel that, first of all, they must, through the World Student Federation, make the majority of the world youths and students understand the necessity of jointly resisting Japan and helping China, and also the fact that such work is linked with their own interests. As world peace cannot be divided, the fascist world aggression is the enemy of world peace. Next, the students are the bridge to link with the people. Through the students, the people of all nations must be made to understand the necessity to resist Japan and help China and the relations of such work with their own interests. As for the concrete means of help, they may include verbal and written propaganda, urging the people and governments to render us material aid, boycotting trade with Japan, or even organizing an international anti-Japanese volunteer army and preparing to participate in the war in China at the proper time. On behalf of a large international student organization, you come to China to inspect and give us your great sympathy. All the people of China are grateful to you. I salute you on behalf of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people! I hope that, when you return to your countries, you will bring the truth of China's great resist-Japan war to the students and people of the world. Let you and us unite forever and fight for China's freedom and equality, and for the permanent peace happiness of the world!

° "Liberation", No 45, 23 July 1938

\* "Selections of Mao Tse-tung's National Salvation Discussions," Chungking Hsin-hua Jih-pao [New China Daily] Press, 1939

## OUR VIEWS ON THE NATIONAL POLITICAL COUNCIL

5 July 1938

[Text] The National Political Council will hold its meeting shortly. Seven of our Chinese Communist Party members have been selected as council members. The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party has formally decided that our seven members will accept the government invitation and join the National Political Council. For this reason, many reporters, council members, and Communist Party members and friends of all areas ask us for our views on the National Political Council. We now jointly express our views as follows:

In the violent environment of the resistance war, the holding of the National Political Council meeting apparently demonstrates progress of China's political life toward the democratic system; it apparently demonstrates an advance of the unity of China's parties and factions, races, classes and strata, and regions. Though in regard to the method of creation and the provision of functions and powers, the National Political Council is not a plenipotentiary representative organ of the people as might be desired, it does not, for these reasons, lose its effect and meaning today--the effect of further uniting all forces in the entire nation to wage the resistance war and save the nation and of an initiation of the nation's political life toward true democracy. Therefore, besides continuing our effort to promote the formation of a plenipotentiary people's representative organ by means of popular election in the future, we Communist Party members will participate in the work of the National Political Council with a most positive, eager, and sincere attitude. Meanwhile, we feel that the active participation in the work of the National Political Council constitutes a part of the important work to reenforce the defense of Wuch'ang-Hankow and the resistance war effort of the third period; it constitutes also a part of the foundation to promote the future formation of a people's plenipotentiary representative organ. We will participate in the National Political Council on behalf of the Chinese Communist Party, sincerely wishing to join hands and strive together with the council member comrades of the Kuomintang and other parties and factions and of those without party or factional affiliations, in order to discuss and decide, in a friendly and harmonious manner, the concrete means and implementation measures beneficial to the victory of the resistance war and the building of the nation,

so that we will deal effective blows to and defeat the Japanese bandits and lay the foundation for an independent, free, and happy new nation of China.

To attain the goal of defeating the Japanese bandits and building an independent, free, and happy new nation, we must, primarily, in the military aspect, seek the strengthening of the combat power of the troops on the front line, the large-scale expansion of the people's guerrilla warfare in enemy occupied areas, and the creation of vigorous troops with modern equipment; in the political aspect, improve the political structures, promote the building of provincial, county, and local public opinion organs, and generally launch and organize the broad masses to actively participate in the war; in the economic aspect, intensify the creation of national defense industries, re-adjust the wartime finance and currency, raise the industrial and agricultural production, and safeguard and improve the people's livelihood by means of all kinds of effective measures. Meanwhile, all military, political, and economic improvements hinge on the continuous consolidation and expansion of the Anti-Japanese National United Front. All these items have been discussed repeatedly and in detail in the documents and declarations of the Chinese Communist Party in the past several years (such as the Declaration of 1 August 1935, the Ten Great Policies for Anti-Japanese Resistance and National Salvation published in September last year, the Declaration of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee on the Current Situation made in December last year, and the views of the leading comrades and members of the Party), and we trust they are well known to the people of the country. In actively participating in the work of the National Political Council, we will sincerely implement all instructions of the Central of our party and continue to strive for the realization of the advocations of our party in the resistance war period.

At the first session of the National Political Council, the iron hooves of the enemy have entered the heartland of China; enemy artillery is permeating the regions of the Yangtze, Huai, Yellow, and Han rivers; Anhwei, Kiangsi, Hunan, and Hupeh are under enemy threat; Wu-ch'ang-Hankow has become the target of enemy reconnaissance. Therefore, our most urgent problem is how to defend Wuch'ang-Hankow and win the victory of the third period resistance war.

Currently, we feel that the most urgent issues requiring prompt solutions are roughly as follows: How to mobilize the military strength, manpower, finance, and material to defend Wuch'ang-Hankow, our military, political, economic, and communication center, and effectively wage the third period resistance war; how to reform the current conscription system with its innumerable defects and replace it with the recruiting system by broad political mobilization, so that the troops of China will have continuous replacements with soldiers possessing a vigorous national consciousness and the creation of a new army will progress promptly and effectively; how to adopt concrete measures to truly attain the goal that "those with money will donate money;" how to guarantee the minimum improvement of the people's life so that those

with strength will donate their strength; how to generally activate and organize the masses and, at the same time, unify the mass movements and organizations under the general principle of the resistance war and democracy; how to safeguard the people's freedoms of speech, meeting, publication, and association and the legitimate rights of the resistance war parties and factions; how to truly and effectively train the young people, so that they can shoulder the responsibilities of cadres to resist Japan and build the nation, in order to overcome their disappointment over the many young people's training classes today; how to improve the political structures of all levels, primarily those of the county level and below; how to conscientiously promote local self-government. All these are urgently desired by the people of the entire nation and necessary to the victory of the resistance war. We will discuss them with those in all fields holding the same views and propose bills in the National Political Council.

Today, the enemy bandits are creating havoc and our front line soldiers are fighting bloody battles for the survival of the nation of China. In the great and noble national battlefield, our thousands and tens of thousands of soldiers, without distinction of parties and factions, without distinction of boundaries, are mutually helping one another, turning the gun muzzles toward the enemy with one mind and one heart, and gloriously merging their blood together. We believe that, in the meeting hall of the National Political Council, similar to the battlefield of the National Liberation War, all the council members will absolutely not discriminate between the "party in power" and the "party out of power" or engage in any prejudicial disputes between parties and factions; on the contrary, they will sweep aside all misunderstandings without distinction of parties or factions, without distinction of areas, and jointly and unanimously devote their effort to the final victory of the resistance war, because the program of the resistance war and national construction promulgated by the Kuomintang Provisional Congress is not only recognized by the Party as being basically identical in direction in its wartime political policy with the Party's wartime program, but also approved by other parties and factions. The National Government and its national policy to persevere in a long-term resistance war and strive for the final victory of the state and the nation are unanimously supported by the people of the entire nation. On such foundation, we believe that the work of the National Political Council will be successful in an atmosphere of harmony and friendship.

Finally, we Communist Party council members will not evade in the slightest our proper responsibilities in front of the people of the entire nation just because the National Political Council has not been created by popular election. We deeply realize that, as the National Political Council members are the public servants of the people, their messengers, and their representatives, we will faithfully follow their instructions and their will and work hard; we will struggle for the realization of the will, desire, and demand of the people of China. We firmly believe that consolidating the national unity and expelling the Japanese bandits constitute the most urgent demand of the people of China today. We will not relax, nor fear difficulties, but will firmly and faithfully struggle hard for the satisfactory realization of this most urgent demand inside and outside the National Political Council. We hope that

the people of the entire nation, whether individuals or organizations, will give us instructions and help. If we make mistakes, we hope you will criticize and censure us. We hope that we and all the council members, as the people's representatives in a sacred public opinion organ, will, under the help, supervision, encouragement, and criticism of the people of the entire nation, fulfill the responsibilities of the National Political Council and of each and every council member.

Mao Tse-tung, Ch'en Shao-yu, Ch'in Pang-hsien, Lin  
Tsu-han, Wu Yu-chang, Tung Pi-wu, Teng Yin-ch'ao

5 July

- ° LIBERATION, No 47, 1 August 1938
- \* "Resistance War Documents of the Chinese Communist Party," first edition  
Hung-mien Publishing House (Hong Kong), August 1946

6080

CSO: 4005

MESSAGE OF GREETINGS FROM COMRADE MAO TSE-TUNG TO THE NATIONAL POLITICAL COUNCIL

6 July 1938

[Text] Council Chairman Mr Wang Ching-wei and Vice Chairman Mr Chang Po-ling of the Wuch'ang-Hankow National Political Council and the entire council membership:

At this time, upon the anniversary of the resistance war, when the entire nation, from top to bottom, is united together, rallying time and again in spite of the setbacks, and swearing to expel the powerful bandits, while the enemy attacks are becoming ever more ferocious, the holding of the meeting of the National Political Council in Wu-ch'ang-Hankow provides a precedent for a constitutional government and initiates the expression of the public opinion. All people of the nation celebrate and rejoice deeply over the event. I have a seat on the council. However, due to trivial matters, I am unable to personally attend and listen to your noble discussions. Nevertheless, I have entrusted my comrades to express my limited personal views beneficial to the momentous issues of the resistance war and national construction, in order to contribute my little effort. The calamity is pressing in on us and the nation is in danger of perdition, but the public opinion has been expressed, and there is a great hope to turn the tide. While the means to turn the tide are many, I feel that the following three points are the most fundamental: The first is to persevere in the resistance war; the second is to persevere in the United Front; the third is to persevere in a war of endurance. If we can advance with these points in mind, without relaxation, victory will doubtlessly be ours. On this day of the inauguration of the council, I solemnly send this cable to congratulate you, and I extend to you my national revolutionary salute.

Mao Tse-tung

° LIBERATION, No 46, 23 July 1938

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CSO: 4005

## ON THE NEW STAGE

12-14 October 1938

The new stage of development in the national war against Japan and the Anti-Japanese National United Front--a report made at the sixth enlarged plenum of the Sixth CCP Central Committee held from 12-14 October 1938.

[Text] Comrades, I am representing the Central Political Bureau to make a report to the sixth enlarged plenum of the Sixth CCP Central Committee. What am I prepared to talk about? What I need to talk about is divided into several parts as follows: 1) from the fifth to the sixth enlarged plenums of the Sixth Central Committee; 2) summation of the 15 months of war against Japan; 3) the new stage of development of the war against Japan and the Anti-Japanese National United Front; 4) current urgent tasks for the entire nation; 5) a protracted war and long-term cooperation; 6) China's war against aggression and the world-wide anti-fascist movement; 7) the Chinese Communist Party's position in the national war; 8) the Seventh National Party Congress. These are the questions I wish to address.

Comrades, what tasks are we to carry out by convening the sixth enlarged plenum of the Sixth CCP Central Committee in the midst of a situation in which we hear gunfire echoing all over the country, and find the peril of world war pressing upon us so urgently? What are our objectives? We definitely must forever unite with all patriotic parties, factions, and compatriots throughout the nation, overcome new difficulties, and mobilize new forces to stop the enemy's attacks for the present, and carry out our counterattacks in the future, so as to attain the objective of driving out Japanese imperialism and establish a republic based on the Three People's Principles. We absolutely must have freedom, we definitely will win--these are our objectives, and it is also the general orientation of my report.

I. From the Fifth to the Sixth Enlarged Plenums of the Sixth CCP Central Committee.

1. The Convening of the Sixth Enlarged Plenum of the Sixth CCP Central Committee.

It has been nearly five years now since the general membership meeting of our party's Sixth Central Committee held its fifth plenum in Kiangsi Province in January 1934. We were unable to gather together in one body because the various Central Committee members were scattered all over the country and abroad working under various different situations. But, this time, most of the Central Committee members are attending, with the exception of a few comrades. Moreover, many comrades who are leaders of various tasks from various areas throughout the country have also come. This has made this general membership meeting the one with the greatest number of people attending since the convening of the Sixth Enlarged Plenum. Originally, it was intended for the Seventh Congress of the CCP Central Committee to be convened this year, but we had to postpone it until next year because of the urgency of the war. But the current situation has set before us many problems which must be clearly resolved in order to achieve victory in the war against Japan. Therefore, we have convened this enlarged general membership meeting of the CCP Central Committee.

## 2. From the Fifth to the Sixth Plenums

In the past 5 years, our party had experienced very many events of great importance. The transition of a situation in which the various parties, factions, and classes in the country were opposed to each other to that of the Anti-Japanese National United Front, and the transformation of the civil war into a war against Japan, are the biggest and most important events. The unfortunate disruption of the United Front of the Kuomintang and the Communist Party in 1927 was the reason that caused the civil war in the past. This was created by the historical circumstances of that time.

How, then, was the policy of the Anti-Japanese National United Front formed? It was formed because of the new historical circumstances. Since the 18 September Incident, Japanese imperialism--the enemy of the Chinese nation--after carrying out the first step of aggression against the four eastern provinces is now entering the stage of taking the second step of preparing to and carrying out the aggression against all of China. This kind of unprecedented historical event has brought about a transformation in domestic and international situations. First of all, it has transformed, and is transforming, the mutual relationships of the various classes, parties, factions, and cliques within the country, and, at the same time, it has transformed, and is transforming, mutual relationships on the international scene. In accordance with this unprecedented historical event and the new relationships both domestically and internationally, our Party, as far back as 1933, had begun to take a new road on its political standpoint (setting up agreements, based on the three conditions to fight against the Japanese, with any elements within the Kuomintang who are willing to cooperate with us), raising it to the level of a new policy of the Anti-Japanese National United Front. For this reason the August 1935 proclamation was published, the December decision was made, the August 1936 letter to the Kuomintang was written, and the September resolution of the democratic republic was passed. Furthermore, it was these that enabled us to adhere to the policy of

peaceful resolution of the Sian Incident which occurred in December of that year, and to forward to the Kuomintang's Third Congress a concrete proposal to unite against the Japanese in February 1937. In May of last year, a congress of a temporary nature was convened (it was called a congress of the Soviet areas attended at that time by representatives from Soviet and non-Soviet areas, as well as from the Red Army). It passed the "Tasks of the Anti-Japanese National United Front at the Present Stage," and approved the implementation of the reorganization of the Red Army into the People's Revolutionary Army, and the implementation of a transformation into a democratic system in the Soviet areas. Thus in reality a transition was made from a situation of civil war into a new era of a beginning to establish the Anti-Japanese National United Front. It was also at that time that the Chinese Nationalist Party slowly began to change its policy, gradually turning toward a position of unification against the Japanese. Without such a transition in the Kuomintang's policy it would not have been possible even if it was desired, to form the Anti-Japanese National United Front. During that period, many national salvation groups began to have their own organizations, and other parties and factions also made demands to oppose the Japanese. The measures taken by Japanese imperialism to commit aggression against China and destroy it encountered unprecedented opposition from the entire nation, because of the change in policies of both the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, the leadership of Mr. Chiang Kai-shek, the support of the military and the people of the whole country, and the cooperation of other cliques and parties and factions. Following the Lukouchiao Incident on 7 July last year, all China, under the unified leadership of the national leader and supreme commander, Generalissimo Chiang, erupted with sounds of sacred and righteous gunfire. All China was transformed into an unprecedented massive unity of the great Anti-Japanese National United Front. In August of last year, 2 months after the Lukouchiao Incident, our Party announced the Ten Great Policies for Anti-Japanese Resistance and National Salvation. At the same time the reorganization of the Eighth Route Army was completed, and it marched to North China to fight. On 22 September our Party made a public announcement of a proclamation to unite with the Kuomintang, in purest honesty based upon the Three People's Principles, and face the national peril together. The second day, Mr. Chiang Kai-shek, the supreme leader of the Kuomintang, the national government, and the national revolutionary army, published a talk in which he admitted the legal existence of the Communist Party and to unite with it to save the nation. Thenceforth, the Anti-Japanese National United Front, based upon the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, was completely established. In December our party, in order to consolidate and develop the Anti-Japanese National Unified Front, again proclaimed its willingness not only to cooperate with the Kuomintang in opposing the Japanese, but also in national construction. Soon after, the guerrilla units of the Red Army in the South reorganized to form the New Fourth Army and marched to the south of the Yangtze River to fight against the Japanese. Thereafter, anti-Japanese unity improved daily.

Comrades, this kind of transition from 10 years of war between the two parties to a new cooperation between them, and carrying out this transition under conditions of extreme difficulties, stabilized the initial foundation of long-term cooperation between the two parties. These were accomplished only after

going through a lot of difficulties but it was accomplished finally through the efforts of the Central Committee and the entire Party. The Comintern fully approved this new political line our Party had taken (see "New China Daily's" 9 September report on the Comintern's resolution), and, furthermore, called upon the proletariat of the world and the communist parties of the various countries to give aid to China's war against the Japanese.

Comrades, if there had not been such an undertaking, establishment, and adherence to the Anti-Japanese National United Front, based upon the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, it would have been impossible to launch this great anti-Japanese national revolutionary war, persevere and win victory. Now, people all over China and the world understand that the Chinese nation has stood up! One hundred years of insult, ridicule, aggression, and oppression, especially the shameful position of a slave after the 18 September Incident, have been altered. People of all China, with guns in their hands, have marched onto the battlefields of the war of national self-defense, and the dawning of hope for freedom and liberation of the Chinese nation has begun.

We knew that this great national war of ours today is different from all wars in the historical eras of China. Because this war is for the liberation of the Chinese nation from a semi-colonial position, and from the perils of losing the nation and destruction of the race. Furthermore, this war is being fought in the most progressive era of China's history; at the same time, this war is fought during the period in which our enemy, Japanese imperialism, is seeking a path of self-destruction and collapse. At the same time, this war is fought in an era in which the progressive mankind of the world is preparing its forces for struggle on an unprecedentedly enlarged scale, and unprecedented intensity, in order to oppose and overcome the evil devils of the German-Italian-Japanese fascists and achieve a bright future for the world. This kind of unification of factors from three sides--with the advancement and continuous progress of China as the principal cornerstone--assures that our war against Japan will surely win final victory, and a free and liberated new China will emerge with certainty in the Orient and become an important, integral element in the bright world of the future. Such a China will give prosperity not only to China's 400 million people, but also to all mankind.

### 3. The Tasks of the Sixth Plenum of the Sixth CCP Central Committee.

The sixth enlarged plenum of the Sixth CCP Central Committee is held at a crucial moment when the anti-Japanese war is at the point of entering a new developmental stage, and the sixth enlarged plenum of the Sixth CCP Central Committee has shouldered a historical task of great importance.

It is absolutely correct that the anti-Japanese war has been courageously fought for over a year now, and throughout the nation there is great unity and magnificent progress. It has dealt a severe blow to Japanese imperialism. Although we have lost much territory, we have won many victories. This is a fact that cannot be denied. It may also be predicted that final victory

will be ours, and not the enemy's, as the war develops further, mainly because of China's continuous progress, which, at the same time, is coordinated with the increasing difficulties of Japan and international assistance to make us stronger. Whoever cannot see the magnificent achievements of the past and the victorious future will fall into the deep pit of pessimism and will be unable to extract himself. However, it is not enough to see only this side of the matter. There is another side to the anti-Japanese war, the negative side, and this is the problem that faces us. The present situation tells us that all the struggles, unity, progress, and victories in the past year and more in China, have not been able to stop the enemy's advance, and we still do not have the strength to go on the counteroffensive. Wuhan is being threatened by the enemy, and he will also mount attacks against Canton, Changsha, and areas of the northwest. Therefore, the people of the entire country expect the Communist Party to make proposals. The new situation has set forth many problems. Comrades, we must make proposals, we must solve these problems. It is correct that our Party long ago gave its proposals, and many of the basic problems have been resolved, too, a long time ago. But the new situation demands that we make new proposals and solve new problems.

What is the new problem?

How to increase new forces on the present foundation to pass over the difficult phase of the war, stop the enemy's attacks, prepare to mount our counterattacks, and achieve the objective of driving out the enemy--these are the key questions of the current problem. A countless number of people all over the country discuss and worry over this problem. Should or should we not address this problem? Without doubt we should address it.

This problem has developed various aspects and many problems have risen.

For instance, what has the experience of 15 months of resistance war proved. Has it proved that the war will be a protracted one or a brief one? Is the strategic policy to be a protracted war so as to overcome the enemy or a quick one to win victory against the enemy? Is final victory to be China's or the enemy's? Is the way out through war or through compromise? If the war should be a protracted one, then what means should be adopted to support a drawn-out war and win final victory? Can any basis be found in the 15 months of war experience so that a clear answer can be given? All these are important problems and they belong to one category.

Again, for example, how to develop and transform the entire course of the war against Japan? What, in actuality, is the nature of this so-called new stage? Suppose we do not defend Wuhan, what then will be the trend of the war? Henceforth, in which direction should the efforts of the entire nation be directed--that is, the current urgent tasks of the Chinese nation? What effective means do we have to pass through the great difficulties of the war? These are even more important problems and belong to another category.

Again, for instance, what will happen to the future and the perspective of the cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party? On what

basis does the Communist Party speak of long-term cooperation? What means does the Communist Party have to improve the relationship between the two parties? What kind of nation is to be established with regard to the so-called cooperation not only in the war effort, but also in the national construction? What are the relationships between the Three People's Principles and communism? These are also very important questions and they again belong to another category.

Once more, for example, with the world's political climate in such a state of emergency, what will its situation become? What advantages or disadvantages are there in the relationship between the anti-Japanese war of China and the world movement to oppose fascism? These are also important questions, and they belong to still another category.

Furthermore, what is the position of the Chinese Communist Party in the national war? What kind of attitude should a Communist Party member adopt in his work when he struggles to implement the Party's political policies? What other effective methods do the Communist Party have in cooperation with other parties and in liaison with the people to bring about a transition of the situation from a difficult period to one of smooth sailing? How are the internal relationships of the Communist Party? Are there any effective methods to bring about unity in the entire Party so as to enable it to play its great role in the war against Japan, specially in the current difficult situation? What is to become of the Seventh Congress of the CCP Central Committee? These are also important problems and they belong to yet another category.

All these problems are urgently demanding for solutions within the party and outside of it. In the recent several months we have constantly encountered people requesting answers to these questions.

Comrades, our nation is a big and complicated one, and it is now engaged in a life-or-death struggle with a strong imperialist country. This struggle is drawing near to a new developmental stage, and it is currently situation in the transition period. Our sixth enlarged plenum is being held in this period and its responsibilities are very, very important as we must resolve many problems.

## II. A General Summation of 15 Months of War

### 1. What Has the Experience of 15 Months Proved?

Let us begin from the experience gained during the 15 months. What have we gained from the experience of 15 months of war? I hold that in the main there are three aspects. First, it has proved that the war against Japan is a protracted, and not a brief one. Therefore, the strategy for the war of resistance is protracted warfare and not a blitzkrieg type of war. Second, it has proved that China's war of resistance can win final victory, and there is no basis for pessimism. Third, it has proved that the only correct road that will support a protracted war and win final victory is that of unifying and uniting the entire nation, striving hard for improvement and relying on the masses, and applying them to overcome difficulties and secure victory. There is no other way.

## 2. The War of Resistance Against Japan Is Not a Brief War But a Protracted One, and the Strategy Is Protracted Warfare, Not a Quick and Decisive Campaign

When the war of resistance first broke out, many people assumed that the war would soon be over, and the idea of a quick victory prevailed for a while. This was so because they did not proceed from the basic comparison of the strength of the enemy and ours, but from some temporary and superficial phenomena. However, at the Double Ten festival last year, Generalissimo Chiang clearly pointed out: "This war of resistance will not be over in a short time. It must go through a period of extreme sufferings and difficulties before it can achieve final victory." As for us, we pointed out a long time ago the protracted nature of the anti-Japanese war of resistance, and that it could not be resolved in a short period of time. "The outcome of the war is inevitable victory for China and unavoidable defeat for Japan, however, the sacrifices will be great, and there will be a period of great sufferings" (16 July 1936 talk between Mao Tse-tung and Snow). "It should be perceived that this war of resistance is a very difficult, protracted war" (the 15 August 1937 resolution passed by the CCP Central Committee on the current situation and the Party's tasks). These all pointed out that the anti-Japanese war of resistance is a protracted war and not a short one, the strategy is protracted warfare and not a quick, decisive campaign. The experience of the past 15 months of the war of resistance has completely proved this to be correct.

What is the reason for this? It is because the enemy is powerful and we are weak, the enemy is in a superior, and we are in an inferior position, and the enemy is an imperialist country and we are a semi-colonial nation.

We long ago pointed out that there must be three conditions in order to be victorious over the enemy: firstly, China must be progressive, and this is the basic and principal thing; secondly, Japan's difficulties; and thirdly, international assistance. Let us take a look at these three conditions during the 15 months of the war of resistance. In short, they already have a foundation, but it is still a long way from the degree they must attain.

With regard to the first condition (the basic and principal condition for victory against the enemy), China's progressiveness, a base has been formed in the past 15 months, but only through continuing progress can we finally overcome the enemy. What is meant by the progress of China encompasses all aspects of domestic politics, military affairs, Party tasks, people's movements, and cultural education. In these respects, progress has been very obvious during the past 15 months. However, we cannot stop the enemy's attacks with only these and launch our counteroffensive. In order to counter-attack there must be a period of preparations. There must be an intensive and wide-spread mobilization of all new forces in our nation through the effort of all the people in order to be able to mount a counterattack and defeat the enemy. Therefore, the theory of quick victory has no basis, because it has forgotten the salient point that the enemy is powerful and we are weak, that the enemy is in a superior and we are in an inferior position, that the enemy is an imperialist nation and we are a semi-colonial country. China has a vast latent potential, and when this potential is mobilized it is ample enough to turn defeat into victory, weakness into strength, and

basically alter the situation between the enemy and us all by itself. However, it is not an existing fact, and it will require our efforts henceforth.

As for the second condition, Japan's difficulties, it is also the same. During these 15 months the enemy put into the field a million men, sustained casualties in the hundreds of thousands, and expended hundreds of millions. The morale of the troops disintegrates daily, and its finances and economy are being exhausted daily. International opinions are rising all around to censure Japan, and it all resulted from the barbaric aggression of Japan and China's heroic war of resistance. But these existing difficulties of the enemy are still inadequate to stop the attacks of the enemy and benefit our counter-offensive. We must wait for the day when the enemy has even greater difficulties and we have made even greater progress, and then only will the opportunity come to counterattack and be victorious over the enemy. Therefore, with regard to the enemy situation, the theory of quick victory does not have a basis, which has been proved by the experience of 15 months.

On the third condition, international assistance, it is still not the time of greatest benefit for us. In the past 15 months, we have the support of broad international opinion. The Soviet Union and other democratic countries, in accordance with the resolution of the League of Nations, have already given us a lot of assistance. This proved that we are not alone. However, we must realize that the international peace front has different situations in different countries. Among the capitalist countries the people are helping us, but the governments have adopted to a certain degree a neutral attitude. Their bourgeoisie is taking advantage of this war to do business, and they are still transporting large quantities of armaments, and materials for making them, to Japan. The socialist countries are basically different from the capitalist countries, and this has already been manifested in a concrete manner on the question of aid to China. But the international situation currently does not permit them to provide assistance over and beyond the present degree. Therefore, we, for the time being, must not place too much hope on international aid. To discard the policy of self-reliance and mainly place our hopes on assistance from abroad is, beyond doubt, an error of the greatest magnitude. The experience gained from the past 15 months has proved that relying mainly upon our own efforts, and at the same time maintaining our efforts to win assistance from abroad, is the correct path to be taken. In this regard, past experience has also negated the theory of quick victory.

In general, the experience of the past 15 months proved that, regardless of whether it is with respect to China, the enemy, or the international [aspects], the proposal of the theory of quick victory has no basis at all. On the contrary, it has exposed the protracted and cruel nature of the war. Therefore, our strategy absolutely must not be for a quick and decisive campaign, but should be one for protracted warfare. The only correct policy for the war of resistance against Japan is to prolong the war and win against the enemy. Those who did not believe this policy in the past have not been taught a lesson by reality, and they should no longer have any doubts now!

This is the first summation on the 15 months of war of resistance.

### 3. Final Victory Belongs to China, and Pessimists Have No Basis

Prior to the war of resistance, the theory of weapons only predominated on a grand scale. The view was that China's weapons were inferior, and we would be destroyed if we fought and China would become another Abyssinia. After the war of resistance was launched, this kind of opinion seemed to have disappeared, but it was still circulating in the dark. Whenever the war of resistance reached a critical situation, this kind of opinion would emerge to stir up trouble. It held that China should stop the war and negotiate for peace as it was no longer able to continue fighting, and should it continue to do so it would be inevitably destroyed. We took the opposing stand. We held that China's weapons were in fact inferior to others, but weapons could be strengthened through the efforts of man. In war, victory or defeat is mainly decided by the human factor, not by materials. Based upon the efforts of the entire nation, the result of a protracted war will be that of China slowly overcoming its weaknesses and strengthening its forces, transforming passivity into initiative, and inferiority into superiority. At the same time, the difficulties on the enemy's side will slowly increase, and international aid to us will slowly grow. When all these factors are combined, we will, in the end, be able to defeat Japanese imperialism. Long ago, Generallissimo Chiang clearly indicated that "since the war has already begun, there is only one way, and that is to go all out with all the strength of our nation and sacrifice to the end. There will no longer be such a thing as stopping mid-way and compromising" (in the talk given at Lu Shan last July). "This war of resistance is a course which the people's revolution must go through, and it is a war of preservation fought by the victim against the aggressor. It is totally different from the usual warring nations of matching strength. Therefore, our reliance is placed not on weapons or military preparedness but on the powerful, unyielding revolutionary spirit and the strong, unbending national will" (in the letter to the people published in December of last year). As for the Chinese Communist Party, it had long ago pointed out that "the drain on Japan by China's protracted resistance has brought its economy to near collapse and the morale of its troops to near disintegration. But for China, its latent power to wage a war of resistance surges higher and higher daily. When all these factors are combined with others, it will enable us to mount the attack on all the territory occupied by Japan in the end, and drive Japan's army of aggression out of China." (Talk between Mao Tse-tung and Snow). "We believe that through the efforts of the people throughout the country, the war of resistance that has been launched will certainly sweep away all obstacles and continue to advance and develop. Victory is certain for the war of resistance against Japan only if tens of millions of the masses are truly organized and join the Anti-Japanese National United Front." (The August resolution passed by the Chinese Communist Party last year). All these have been evidenced by the experience of the past 15 months. It has been proved that such absurd falsehoods as 'the enemy is too strong to resist,' 'China cannot stand a fight,' and 'compromise is the only way out' spoken by pessimists and those who held that China will fall are totally wrong.

What is the reason for this? Because the fact that the enemy is strong and we are weak is but one side of the coin. The enemy still has its weaknesses, China still has its strong points.

What are the weaknesses of the enemy? First, it is a smaller country. It is inadequate in troops and finances, and cannot withstand a prolonged drain. Because of its shortage of troops it is forced to split them and sustain attrition in the face of China's strong resistance so that it cannot occupy the whole of China, with regard to the territories it occupied it consist in reality only the big cities, highways, and certain areas of the plains. The rest still belongs to China.

Second, the nature of the war waged by the enemy is imperialistic and very backward. The contradictions within itself forced the enemy to launch a war of aggression, and it also compelled the enemy to adopt an extremely barbaric policy of plunder. Thus, it transformed the enemy's war on the one hand into a war that places the entire Chinese people in absolute opposition, forcing them to unite and wage a war of determined resistance regardless of class, party, or faction.

On the other hand it is also transformed into a war which is in absolute opposition with its own people. The results of Japanese imperialism's all-out measures, with regard to manpower and finances in order to meet the needs of war, have begun to create much discontent among the people in its own country, and among the troops on the front lines. As the war develops it will without doubt force its people and soldiers to lean, en masse, in the direction of using resolute methods to oppose the war itself. These have already surfaced during the 15 months. This is the most important basis existing on the enemy's side which will inevitably bring about defeat to it. Third, precisely because the war the enemy is waging is imperialistic by nature, in other words, selfishness, it will compel the enemy to place all countries whose interests are contrary to its own in the opposition camp. With the exception of two or three fascist countries, all other countries, specially the masses of people of these countries, do not approve Japan's war of aggression. Thus Japan is forced to narrow gradually its sphere of international activities, and daily becomes more and more isolated. This also has already begun to be evident during the 15 months.

Therefore, the comparative smallness of the country of Japan affected its troop strength, and its finances are insufficient; the backward nature of Japan's war; and Japan's international isolation--all these are combined at the same time, and it becomes Japan's innate weaknesses and difficulties, and also these weaknesses and difficulties are growing daily. Those who hold that the nation will fall and the pessimists are completely blind and can see only one thing, that the enemy is strong and we are weak. Therefore, with respect to the enemy situation, there is no basis for pessimism or to holding the view that the nation will fall, so their policy of compromise can only be a policy for the downfall of the nation. We are theoreticians of final victory, and our view has ample basis with respect to the enemy situation. This has also begun to be evident during the 15 months.

What are our superior points? Firstly, we are a big country with a vast territory, rich resources, many people, and many soldiers. Regardless of the fact that the enemy has occupied our principal big cities and communications lines, we still have a large tract of land left to form a base for our protracted war and wrest final victory. As for the enemy occupied areas, we still have many bases for guerrilla warfare. This characteristic is basically different from such small countries as Czechoslovakia and Belgium. This is our first superior point. Secondly, our present anti-Japanese war of resistance is different from any of the wars in the history of China. Our war is a national revolutionary war, a progressive war. Not only is the war itself progressive by nature, but it is fought upon a progressive foundation never before seen in China. China in the second decade of the 20th century was different from the China of any other historical era. We have progressive people quite different from those of any other historical period, and a progressive political party and progressive army. The anti-Japanese war of resistance which is being fought upon such a foundation, encompasses a great force that can continue to develop this progressiveness. This is what we have on our side which will enable us to support a protracted war and achieve final victory. The experience gained from the past 15 months has proved that the sacred national war carried out on its original base has already impelled the progress of all China. The old tradition of national corruption is being destroyed, a new national progressive force is developing, and the developmental stage of the unification and progress of an entire nation is advancing toward completion. The China after the war of resistance is different from the China preceding it, and this can be perceived by anyone with eyes. It also may be predicted that the China of the first stage of the war of resistance (this stage has not ended yet) will be different from the China in the later stages. Thirdly, our anti-Japanese war of resistance is not isolated. China's anti-Japanese war of resistance and the world's struggle against aggression and fascism are inseparably bound together, regardless of whether capitalist countries still preserve their many contradicting policies and regardless of whether the international situation may temporarily affect the degree of aid given by the various countries to us. It is not only the Chinese that are opposing the Japanese war of aggression, but also Europeans, Americans, Africans, Australians, and other Asians. The sympathy and aid extended by the various countries of the world during these 15 months have given us this sure confidence. That China, which has mainly relied on its own efforts, can, at the same time, coordinate with world aid, is because today's world is no longer the world it used to be. Progressive mankind of the entire world has formed into one body of close association. The enemy's plan to isolate us will not avail.

In this respect, ours is a very big country, our war is progressive, and we also have international assistance. These three factors are combined at the same time. These are all conditions favorable to us. They not only already exist, they grow daily. Here, the pessimists and the subjugationists are both blind, unable to see anything at all. All they can see is that we are a weak country, our position is inferior, and we are a semi-colonial country. They mumble such nonsense as "the nation will surely fall if we wage a war

of resistance," and, "if we carry on with the war, the nation will inevitably fall." The evil fellows among them covertly carry out their scheme to surrender and compromise upon the basis of such nonsensical talk. We, on the contrary, point out, based on the experience of the past 15 months, the strong points and weaknesses of our country and of our war, to the entire Party and the entire country the conditions that are favorable to us and those that are not, and also point out clearly the superior position these strong points and favorable conditions hold with regard to the war as a whole. We shall call upon the entire nation to put its effort into the struggle, give rein to our own strong points, strengthen our own favorable conditions, overcome our own weaknesses and unfavorable conditions, and struggle to win final victory. To whom will final victory belong? We answer decisively: China. Our policies are decided upon this basis: resolutely resist or vacillate and compromise? We answer with decision: there absolutely cannot be any vacillation and compromise. The only way out is through resolutely waging a war of resistance. The loss of the four eastern provinces, the annihilation of Austria, and the carving up of Czechoslovakia, are the result of no resistance. This is quite obvious to all. It is the same now. With all the superior conditions in China, the war of resistance will inevitably thrive. But if the road of compromise is taken, destruction cannot be avoided. Therefore, the only policy is to resolutely oppose compromise-ism and pessimism, and rouse the entire nation to fight courageously to the end.

In general, this contradicting comparison--the enemy strength and our weakness--has decided the protracted nature of the war, and the strategic policy of protracted warfare. We hold the theory of victory over the enemy through prolongation and not the theory of quick victory. The enemy is small and we are big; the enemy's war is a backward one and ours is progressive; the enemy's position on the international scene is comparatively isolated while ours can get outside assistance. These contradictory comparisons again decide that final victory of the war belongs to us, and not to the enemy. This is the second summation of the experience of 15 months.

#### 4. The Only Way To Support a Protracted War and In Final Victory Lies in Unifying and Uniting the Entire Nation, Striving for Progress, and Relying Upon the Masses

The anti-Japanese war of resistance is a protracted one, and final victory belongs to China--these two basic questions have already been proved by the experience gained from 15 months of the war of resistance. But what about a concrete program for supporting a protracted war and winning final victory? In the past, people in the country did not have a uniform opinion. Many people held that it would be sufficient to carry on as in the past. They did not pay attention to uniting the whole country, nor did they pay attention to military affairs, politics, culture, party tasks, and people's movements and their improvement. They even went so far as to increase friction and obstruct progress. We have never approved of such opinions, and we hold that only through unified unity of the entire nation, striving for progress, and reliance upon the masses can we support a protracted war and win final victory. Otherwise, we will not be able to do so. The Chinese Nationalist Party pointed out clearly in its program for the war of resistance and

national construction that "if we are seeking certain victory in the war of resistance and certain success in national construction, we must surely rely upon the efforts of our Party's comrades, especially if the people of the entire country are to unite and shoulder this task together." Likewise, the Chinese Communist Party pointed out long ago that "The most central task in the war of resistance is that of mobilizing all available forces to attain victory, and the key to winning victory is to develop the war of resistance that has already been launched into a total war with the entire nation participating. Only this total war can bring final victory in the war of resistance." (The Chinese Communist Party's resolution passed last August.) The experience of the past 15 months has already proved that these are entirely correct.

Since the war of resistance began, the various classes, parties and factions, and cliques which had been in opposition to each other, have united, and the various different areas and armies have been unified under the command of the Military Affairs Commission of the government of the Kuomintang. Without this unity it would have been impossible to persist in the war of resistance for 15 months. It is also because of the war of resistance that the unity of the various sides was made possible. This kind of unity is the Anti-Japanese National United Front. However, the experience of the past 15 months also made it evident to us the gravity of the enemy's schemes to sabotage and the inadequate consolidation of the unity within our ranks. Besides objective causes, the most important reason why the war of resistance has encountered so many set-backs and why we still cannot stop the enemy's attacks and carry out our counteroffensive is that the United Front is inadequate in strength, and it has not had the necessary expansion and consolidation it must have. It can be seen from this that the only way possible to support a protracted war and achieve final victory is to further unify and unite the entire nation, and consolidate and expand the Anti-Japanese National United Front. This is the first.

Second, the 15 months of the war of resistance has given impetus to the unification of the entire nation, but it has also shown its inadequacy. It has impelled the progress of military affairs, politics, culture, party tasks, and people's movements and, at the same time, it has again exposed the insufficiency of this progress. All viable forces among all class strata throughout the nation must be mobilized in order to support a protracted war and win final victory, and to achieve this objective efforts must be made so that there will be progress in all the fields of military affairs, politics, culture, party tasks, and people's movements. If there is no greater progress made in all these respects, it will not be possible to mobilize all new forces throughout the nation and further unify and unite the entire nation.

Third, the 15 months of the war of resistance has also proved how powerful the people's assistance to the war of resistance can be. At the same time it has also proved that the people's forces are now beginning to be mobilized, therefore, it has caused the war of resistance to suffer many set-backs because it was unable to receive the massive assistance of the people. From this, a lesson has been learned. The people must further understand this basic problem of the war of resistance being dependent upon the masses. By relying

upon the masses, all difficulties can be overcome and any powerful enemy can be defeated, but if we become separated from the masses, not a single thing can be accomplished. Hereafter, the further progress of China must be fully manifested with respect to the mobilization of the people's forces.

In general, the only correct path to support a protracted war and wrest final victory is in consolidating and expanding the unity of the entire nation, in striving for progress so as to mobilize the new forces of the entire nation, and in relying upon the masses to overcome difficulties. This forms our third summation.

Comrades, the basic lesson learned from the 15 months of the war of resistance is that we must persist in the war of resistance, adhere to protracted warfare, and strive for unity and progress. This the general policy of the war of resistance henceforth. We can defeat the enemy if we and the entire nation adhere to this general policy and put forth massive and protracted efforts. The anti-Japanese war of resistance is now developing toward a new stage, and there will be many new tasks, but this general program remains unchanged. The 15-month experience forms the basis for our observation of the new situation and it has set forth new tasks.

### III. The New Stage of Development of the Anti-Japanese War of Resistance and the Anti-Japanese National United Front

#### 1. Policy Is Decided on the Basis of Studying the Laws Governing the War and the United Front

Comrades, after summing up past experiences, the important question will be to view the trends of the current situation. How will the anti-Japanese war of resistance and the Anti-Japanese National United Front proceed to transform and develop upon the basis of the past? This is a question we want to answer now, as it has important significance with regard to our solving the current problems. Because, if there is no general estimate made on the course of transformation and development of the entire anti-Japanese war of resistance, we will only be able to go around in circles with the war, permitting it to shackle us and making it impossible to place it under our own control to adjust and remold to create the necessary conditions for the war, lead it toward where we want it to go, and win final victory. Therefore, it is necessary to know the laws governing the war of resistance against Japan in order to be able to implement the guidance of the war, and decide upon the strategies, tactics, policies, and plans which serve the purpose of the war. It is the same with the Anti-Japanese National United Front. We will be able to effectively propel the United Front onto the course of consolidation and development only by studying and understanding the laws governing its nature, and thereby permitting it to play the role of supporting pillar for victory in the war.

Let us first talk about the problem of war.

## 2. The Specifically Determined Historical Conditions and the Superiority of Subjective Capability Decide the Developmental Course of the War

Historically, wars ended after going through one stage. For example, in the Russo-Japanese War of 1905 there were only the advance of the Japanese troops and the defeat and retreat of the Russians, and thereafter it ended. It was also the same with the Italo-Abyssinian war. There were only the Italian advance and the defeat and rout of the Abyssinians before it ended. It was also the same with China's war against the Peiyang warlords. This is one type of situation stemming from, on the one hand, the inequality of the two sides, and on the other hand, from the difference between superior and inferior leadership which resulted in defeat. This is one type of war. The second type went through two stages and ended after that. For instance, the Franco-Russian war. Napoleon went from the offensive into retreat, and the Russian from retreat to the counteroffensive. There were two stages to both sides. It was the same with the Ch'ih Pi [6375 1084] campaign of the war between Wu [0702] and Wei [7614], and the Fei Shui [3224 3055] campaign between Ch'in [4440] and Chin [2516] of ancient China. Although the comparative strength of the two armies was not equal, the weaker one went on the counteroffensive after retreating and defeated the enemy by being skillful in utilizing other favorable conditions and giving them correct direction. But there is a third type of war, like the Seven Years' War, the Eight Years' War, the Thirty Years' War, and the Hundred Years' War of foreign countries, including the 4-year great war in Europe 20 years ago (manifested specially on the Western Front), and all have three stages. In the first stage A attacked and B retreated. In the second stage, a long period of indecisive warfare. The third stage was with B counterattacking, and A retreating. There were also many such wars in the history of China. The characteristic of this type of war is that there is a comparatively long, or very long period of confrontation. This also stemmed from the specifically determined historical setting and the specific nature of the cliques directing the wars.

To which of these types does the Sino-Japanese war belong? I hold that it belongs to the third type of war. This stemmed from the different historical conditions and the specific situations of the cliques directing the war.

## 3. The Protracted Nature of the Sino-Japanese War Is Manifested in the Three Stages of the War

The protracted nature of the Sino-Japanese war will be manifested in the three stages of the enemy's attack, holding-on and retreat, and in our defense, holding-on and counterattack. The first stage of the enemy's advance and our defense emerges because of the enemy being strong and our being weak (the enemy is in a superior position and we in the inferior, the enemy is an imperialist country and we are a semi-colonial country). Calling it defense instead of retreat is to say that the retreat is manifested through strategic mobil defense, that is, resisting at every step, and not an immediate pull-out. But also because of these very special conditions of the enemy being a small country, backward, and with little help, and our

being a big country, progressive, and with much support, and also because of our courageous resistance which has inflicted losses on the enemy in his attacks, through the difficulties and attrition brought about by the dispersion of his troops, the enemy has been compelled to end its strategic attacks at a definite period, and shift over to the stage of militarily defending the territories it has occupied, and attacking us politically and through economic blockade. In this period, although the enemy has been drained, it has not yet reach the degree which would cause it to turn into defeat; and although we have resolutely resisted in the war and made progress in many respects, we cannot, for the time being, progress to the point where it would be enough to shift over to the stage of counterattacking and driving the enemy out of the country. Due to these factors, the second stage, or the middle stage, of stalemate is formed. It will be possible to bring about a gradual transformation in which the original state of the enemy being strong and us weak, and the enemy in a superior position and us in an inferior one shifts to a situation which, viewed on the whole, daily becomes unfavorable to the enemy and favorable to us because of the continuing growth of the enemy's difficulties and our progress in the second stage. At first, balance will be reached which will turn into a superior position for us and an inferior position for the enemy. At this time, it will be possible to enter the third stage in which we counterattack and the enemy retreats.

The observations made on the above three stages have not yet become facts, but are possible. It is a kind of estimate made on the entire course of the war based upon the concrete conditions of the mutually contradicting comparisons which are now in existence and those which will possibly occur in the future between the enemy and ourselves. The possible situation can be transformed into fact only if we rely upon our subjective efforts to create the conditions necessary for such possible situations to occur. However, such possible situations can be transformed into fact based upon existing conditions plus conducting a correct direction and the massive and resolute efforts of the entire nation.

#### 4. Those Advocating Quick Victory and Those Who Hold That the Nation Will Fall Oppose Such Estimates

Those advocating a quick victory oppose the theory of three stages. They hold the view that it is not necessary to have a middle stage for us to be able to go quickly onto the counteroffensive. This is wrong. The war against Japan is faced with many existing difficulties, and to overcome these difficulties require a definite period of time. It is not possible to go quickly into the counteroffensive. It is because they have, on the one hand, overly underestimated the enemy's strength, and, on the hand over-estimated our own strength, that they oppose the three stages. Those who hold the view that the nation will fall also oppose this. They believe that it is impossible for both withstanding the enemy and going into the counteroffensive, and that China is but another Abyssinia. This is incorrect. They are opposite to the advocates of quick victory, over-estimating the enemy's strength and under-estimating our own. Before them, there is only darkness. They admit that the enemy can destroy all of China, and our resistance and efforts will not avail. It is impossible to achieve the capability to withstand the enemy, let alone going into the counteroffensive and defeating the enemy. For

this reason, we must, on the one hand oppose the quick victory theory and on the other hand oppose the theory that the nation will fall. Only thus can we adhere to our three stage theory. Under present circumstances, it is more important to oppose the theory that the nation will fall than quick victory-ism. There are some others who, on the surface, approve of protracted warfare, but disapprove of three stage theory. This is also incorrect. Where can the so-called protracted warfare and drawn out war be manifested? In the three stages of the war. If you accept protracted warfare and drawn out war, and yet do not approve of the three stages, then the so-called protracted and drawn out war are entirely abstract things without an iota of essence and practicality. Therefore, it will not be possible to implement any true, strategic direction, nor any factual strategic policy. In reality, this kind of opinion still belongs to that of the quick victory theory, except that it has put on a mantle of "protracted warfare."

#### 5. The Relationship Between the Theory of Three Stages and the International Situation

When the Chang Kao-feng [1728 7559 1496] incident occurred, part of the opinion within the country was highly enthusiastic. It held that if war broke out between Japan and Russia, China could go over to the counteroffensive, and a protracted war would not be necessary. Before such a viewpoint, the theory of the three stages naturally becomes untenable, and our estimate is wrong. This is mainly due to the idea of relying upon outside aid, and it is another form of the idea of quick victory. However, the international situation did not develop according to the subjective wishes of these friends, but in accordance to its own laws. The important center of the world is located in Europe, and the Orient is an important part that surrounds it. The principal countries of the peace front in the world and the main fascist countries are in an uproar in the West over the question of the perils of war in Europe. Regardless of whether it is on the eve of a war, or war has broken out between the big countries, the big and small nations of the West will then place the question of Europe at the head of their agenda and are reluctantly compelled to place the question of the Orient in second place. Viewing China under such circumstances, the two stage theory of going quickly onto the counteroffensive is unreasonable. We must mainly rely upon ourselves. We are not afraid of the three stages, but is in the process of creating the three stages. The three stages form the law governing the Sino-Japanese war. It has basis not only in the comparison of enemy strength and ours, but also in the international situation.

#### 6. The Stalmate Stage Is the Pivot of the War

The principal characteristic of the three stages is the inclusion of an interim transitional stage. That is to say, first, our war of resistance must be carried out with concerted effort to stop the enemy's offensive. If the enemy's offensive cannot be stopped at a given area and at a definite time, there will be no such thing as three different stages. Second, it will be necessary to go all out in making preparations for all the conditions

needed to go on the offensive when the holding on stage emerges. If this is not done, then it will not be possible to enter the counteroffensive stage. It will be holding on forever, and the three stages become immaterial. At this point, we positively say to those who hold the view of quick victory that we must pass through a period of preparations before we can unite the entire nation, overcome difficulties, develop new forces, and, at the same time, coordinate these with the enemy's difficulties and international aid, and then carry out the counteroffensive and drive the enemy out of the country. Otherwise, this will not be possible. When problems are viewed from the standpoint of chiefly relying on our own efforts, this conclusion becomes unavoidable. We positively say to pessimists and those who hold the view that the nation will be lost: It is only this transitional period that is the pivotal point of the whole war. Whether China becomes a colony or achieves liberation will be decided not by the loss of big urban areas and communications lines, but by the degree of effort put out by the entire nation in the second stage. Such losses are unfortunate, as they strengthen the enemy's forces and weaken ours, but there are still many things left which can be capitalized upon to defeat the enemy. It will be of no avail to moan and groan over the loss of precious things. The territories preserved during the first stage and the new, viable forces, especially the progressiveness already achieved in military affairs, politics, culture, party tasks, and people's movements, are the most valuable of all, as they form the base for the continuation of progress and preparation for the counteroffensive in the second stage. However, these form only a base, and not a decisive factor, for counteroffensive. The decisive factor is the force that is added on in the second stage. Without the increase in this great, new force, counteroffensive will just be empty words.

#### 7. The Characteristics of the Three Stages, the First Stage

There is a need to give a summarized explanation of the characteristics of the three stages which have already emerged, and those which can be estimated, of the anti-Japanese war of resistance. They have important ramifications with regard to the directing of the war and deciding policies.

What special traits or landmarks are there in the first stage? There are three aspects, which are as follows:

First, with regard to China, they are the formation of the National United Front, the bitter fighting of the entire nation's troops, the resoluteness of the war of resistance, the proclamation of the Kuomintang's program of carrying out the war of resistance and national construction, the convening of the People's Political Council, the legal status achieved by the Communist Party and other parties and factions, the advent of guerrilla warfare, the progress of all the troops in the country, and the development of people's movements. These are all major events manifesting the progress made by China. However, there are, at the same time, many unfavorable events and adverse phenomena. For example, the loss of major cities, communications lines, and principal commerce and industry, the loss of territories and populations, the uneven progress of the entire country (with some areas

progressing very slowly), the political system, in general, is just beginning to become democraticized, the continuing existence of obdurate conservatives and the phenomenon of corruption, the upsurge of the trend to compromise, etc.

Second, with regard to the enemy: The drain on their military and financial resources, the censure of world opinion, the deterioration of military discipline, the corresponding weakening of the combat effectiveness of the troops, the increase of dissatisfaction among the people in its country and among the front-line troops, the failure of Chang Kao-feng's war, the difficulty of raising Chinese renegade troops and the ineffectiveness of those that have been organized. These are major events manifesting the enemy's difficulties. But, at the same time, there are things which show the capability of the enemy. They are the determined nature of their offensive, the stubborn strength of its forces, the vastness of the territory it has occupied, the strength of its political organizations, and the effectiveness of its conspiratorial agencies.

Third, with regard to the international scene: The growth of the movement to aid China, and the growth of the Soviet Union's strength and its aid to China. All these are favorable to China but there are still other things: the brewing of a great war in Europe, the tendency toward compromise to a certain degree between Britain and Japan, the assistance given to the enemy by various countries in the form of materials for manufacturing armaments--all these are unfavorable to China.

The many things mentioned above with regard to China, Japan, and the international scene are all characteristics manifested in the 15 months of the first stage of the war of resistance. These characteristics will effect the new stage of the future.

## 8. The Second Stage

Assuming that Wuhan is not to be defended, under this situation many new things will emerge from the state of the war. Although Wuhan is occupied by the enemy, it does not mean that the old stage has ended and a new stage is beginning. The period of time between the continuing ability of the enemy to attack and it is finally forced to stop its offensive is still the transitional period of the old stage into the new. Although this may be so, after Wuhan is abandoned, many new situations will appear.

After Wuhan is abandoned, as well as the greater part of the new stage, the predictable situation will be that of even more difficulties on the one hand, and even greater progress on the other. This is the basic characteristic of the new stage.

The increasing difficulties will be manifested as follows: 1) Because of the loss of major cities and communications lines, the nation's political power and battle lines are carved up, terrain wise, and many new problems will arise from this effect; 2) extreme difficulties in finance and economy;

3) the tendency toward a certain degree of compromise between Britain and Japan (or, on the contrary, the possibility of further conflict between Britain and Japan under the condition of Japan's persistence in monopolizing and threatening southeast Asia); 4) if the enemy attacks Canton, it can be anticipated that China's sea communications routes will be cut, and international aid will temporarily drop off; 5) there is the possibility of the formation of a puppet political power on a national scale and its effect on the anti-Japanese front; 6) the possibility of rebellion in parts of the anti-Japanese front, and the upsurge of compromise atmosphere; and 7) the growth of pessimism and divided opinions, etc. These are matters which can happen and burden the anti-Japanese war with new difficulties. Only when these difficulties are taken into consideration can we overcome them in a prepared and planned manner.

Further progress will be manifested in various aspects as follows:

1) Generalissimo Chiang's and the Kuomintang's policy of resolutely waging a war of resistance and the further progressiveness, politically; 2) improved relationships between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, and the consolidation and expansion of the Anti-Japanese National United Front; 3) the progressiveness of the work to reform the armies; 4) the widening development of guerrilla warfare; 5) the progress of democratizing the nation; 6) the even bigger development of people's movements; 7) the implementation of new, wartime fiscal and economic policies; 8) the elevation of cultural education of the war of resistance; 9) the continuation and possible increase of aid from the Soviet Union, and the even more closer relationship between China and the Soviet Union, etc.

The entire second stage is that of stalemate. It is the stage in which China prepares to go on the counteroffensive. The duration of this period will be decided by the degrees of transformation in the strength of the enemy and ourselves, and what the international situation is. But we should prepare for a long war. After passing through this difficult course, we will arrive upon the smooth road to victory.

Although there is stalemate, strategically, in the second stage, there is still large-scale warfare. This is manifested mainly by the main forces in frontal positions standing on the defensive, while wide-spread guerrilla warfare breaks out behind the enemy's lines. At that time, in many important strategic areas, the guerrilla warfare will be fought with great difficulty, and we should begin now to make preparations to handle these difficulties.

## 9. The Third Stage

Concrete situations cannot be predicted. But that must be the time when we have completed preparing the conditions for our counteroffensive and, at the same time, the degree of the enemy's difficulties has greatly increased and the international situation is also very much favorable to us. At that time the war situation will no longer be strategic defense or strategic stalemate, but a strategic counteroffensive, not a strategic inner line, but a strategic

outer line. Great progress must be made politically in country at that time, and there must be new military technology. It will otherwise be unable to launch the counteroffensive.

#### 10. Defending Wuhan Is a Question of Buying Time, and Not One of Defending It to the Last Man

The objective of the struggle to defend Wuhan is to drain the enemy on the one hand, and to buy time to enable progress of the work throughout China on the other. And it is not to hold a position to the last man. When the battle situation truly proves that it has become unfavorable to us and to pull out will, on the contrary, be favorable, we should follow the principle of giving up territory to conserve our military strength. Therefore, a big, decisive battle which will be unfavorable to us must be avoided. There should be no strategically decisive campaigns in either the first or second stages. They are enough to impede the persistence in the war of resistance and the preparations for the counteroffensive, and must be avoided. Avoiding strategically decisive battles and going all-out to fight decisive combats in battles and wage campaigns under conditions favorable to us should become part of the policy for protracted warfare. Giving up certain cities which can no longer be defended when it becomes necessary, and under definite conditions, is not only something that is forced upon us, but also a policy of luring the enemy to penetrate deeply, dispersing his forces, draining them, and sapping the enemy's enthusiasm. Under the logical premise of not compromising and surrender but to resolutely wage a war of resistance, giving up certain points when it becomes necessary is permitted within the policy of protracted warfare, and it is not something to be frightened about.

#### 11. Moving From the Current Stage to That of Stalemate

Stopping the enemy's offensive is the only way to benefit our preparations for the counteroffensive. It still is necessary to make a big effort in order to achieve this objective. Therefore, in transiting from the current stage to that of forcing the enemy to stop its offensive and go into defending the territories it has occupied, and the entire stage of stalemate has emerged, is still but a course of struggle, and many difficulties must be overcome in order to attain it. This is because the enemy will not immediately conclude its offensive after Wuhan falls. It definitely will still want to attack Sian, Ich'ang, Changsha, Hengchow, Wuchow, Peihai, Nanch'ang, Swatow, Fuchow and adjacent areas. We must focus on this kind of plans the enemy has and continue to use strategic mobile defense warfare if we want to stop the enemy's offensive. We must go all out to fight resolute battles so as to drain the enemy on an even larger scale, and yet avoid being tricked by the enemy, forcing the enemy to stop its offensive, bring about a transition of the war situation to that of the enemy and ourselves into the favorable situation of stalemate.

#### 12. The State of Stalemate Is Imminent

After the enemy occupies Wuhan, its weaknesses in troop strength and their dispersion will become even more pronounced. If it still wants to attack

Sian, Ich'ang, Changsha, Nanch'ang, Wuchow, Fuchow, and other areas planning to occupy them, the great difficulties it has from its weakness of inadequate troop strength and its dispersion will develop to the highest degree in its offensive stage. This is the extreme difficulty added to the enemy's phenomenon of inadequate troop strength (it cannot possibly be adequate), and the dispersion of its troops (it is compelled to spread out) brought about by the stubborn, frontal resistance put up by our main forces and the threat of guerrilla warfare in the vast areas behind the enemy's lines. This situation--the enemy's inadequacy in troop strength and its dispersion, and our frontal defense and threat to the enemy's rear areas--is most unfavorable to the enemy but most favorable to us. In an overall comparison of strength between the enemy and ourselves, of course the basic situation of the enemy is strong, we are weak, and the enemy is in a superior position and we in a weak one, remains unchanged. This change can come about only through a great effort put out by the entire nation in coordination with conditions abroad during the stage of a mutual stalemate-off. However, in the offensive campaign against Wuhan the enemy's powerful strength is further displayed. Naturally this inflicts losses on us, but, at the same time, it creates difficulties for the enemy. This is so because the powerful forces of the enemy (it is, at the same time, inadequate and scattered), after giving further rein to its power, will deteriorate in strength, thereby compelling its overall strategic offensive to near its climax. We admit that the enemy's offensive still has remnants of power, and it is best, and most suitable, to estimate that this remnant power is still considerably strong. Therefore, there is still the possibility that the enemy will want to attack and occupy Sian, Ich'ang, Changsha, Nanch'ang, Wuchow, Fuchow, and adjacent areas, and we must even be prepared for its offensive against the entire Canton-Hankow line and the Sian-Lanchow highway. But, from the overall strength of the enemy, it is but a small remnant power. From the overall national strength of Japan, it must guard against the Soviet Union in the north, the United States in the East, and the British and French in the South, while suppressing the people domestically. It has only so much strength, and that part which can be used in China has about reached its limits.

Furthermore, in its frontal positions and in its occupied territories, the wide-spread warfare it must handle still exist. The contradictions between Japan and the United States, Britain, and France are growing, and the contradictions between the government and the people internally, between officers and men on the front lines, and between massive expenditures and the drying up of its finances are continuing to intensify. All these make the enemy worry quite a bit. We, and all the people in the country, must be able to see these, and not let the loss of major cities and communications lines to scare us. We must approve of the support the government in rearranging the fighting all over the country, make preparations in a planned manner to give battle along the Lunghai line, the Sian-Lanchow highway and other strategic areas, wage large-scale guerrilla warfare behind the enemy lines, seize upon the weakness of the enemy in its inadequacy in troops and their dispersion in order to drain it even more and bring about even greater dispersion, and cause the war to move surely and victoriously into the new stage of stalemate between the enemy and ourselves. This is the current urgent task for the entire nation.

### 13. The Enemy's Strength Is Gradually Ebbing, Our Strength Is Gradually Growing

Has the enemy's strength increased? From the original strength it has, there has not been much increase. On the contrary, it has been greatly weakened. The enemy's original military and economic strength has been drained massively. In the 15 months of warfare it has sustained casualties of several hundred thousand troops, used up a huge quantity of weapons and ammunition, as well as military supplies, over a hundred warships and several hundred planes have been destroyed, and it has expended several hundred million yen. This drain is unprecedented in the history of Japan. Until it has been forced to stop its strategic offensive, a great part of its strength will be drained. Its ally, Hitler, has been greatly worried over this for a long time. But is there no increase at all in the enemy's strength? There is, and this is so because of its occupation of China's principal cities, communications lines, and part of the rural areas. It has seized the market from the various countries and from Chinese national capital, raw material sources and tools of production from China, and much manpower. These constitute the only objective of Japan's war, and it has been increased in such things temporarily. But the question is can these things withstand the drain of war? They cannot. The entire "investment" of the war has been drained off and will remain so. If it seeks returns, it must put in new production investments. Again, the question is can it get returns to make up for the drain of war from its production investments, disregarding the ineffectiveness of its investments and assuming that they are effective? Again no. Because in its rear a wide-spread war still exists, and the daily drain continues. So long as there is a wide-spread guerrilla war in the enemy's rear, such as the guerrilla warfare in North China, it will be very difficult for the enemy to get anything out of it. Because of the continuous warfare, not only will it be impossible to get returns from its old investments, it will have to put in new ones. If we only persist in this war of resistance the pitiful fate of Japan is certain. We have said that in the second strategic stage, that is, the stalemate stage, Japan will gradually change from strength to weakness, from a superior to an inferior position. This kind of continuous drain is the deciding factor. We will now talk with respect to China. Has China's strength been weakened, or has it been increased? Our answer is that it has been weakened and it has increased. What has decreased is the quality and quantity of its original strength. This is manifested in the drain on weapons and personnel of the troops, in the loss of population, industry, territory, and natural resources. This is an important aspect of what is making us feel difficult. However, it is not that there has been no increase. What has increased is the new quality and quantity. This is manifested in the unity of the entire nation, the improvements made in military forces, politics, and culture, and in the enhancement of the degree of consciousness among the people and their organization. Although the main force has retreated, guerrilla warfare has advanced. Although a part of the territory has been lost, another part has improved. The question is that the degree of increase attained today is not enough to stop the enemy's offensive, and, later, it will even be more inadequate to carry out our counteroffensive.

Therefore, it has created the problem of the necessity to apply a massive, prolonged effort to increase new strength. This kind of increase--that is, the mobilization on an even greater scale of the new and viable forces among the various stratum of the people of the nation and the even greater improvement in the various fields of party, politics, military, and civilians--to be based upon a wide-spread and prolonged effort hereafter is entirely possible. In mainly relying upon the forces produced by ourselves, and in coordination with the increased difficulties of the enemy and the strengthening of international aid to us, it will enable the transformation of the situation between the enemy and ourselves to take place. To go from the present situation of the enemy being in a superior and our being in inferior position first to that of equal balance, and then to our being in a superior, and the enemy in an inferior position. This is the basic problem in the protracted mutually holding-off stage which must be, and can be, resolved.

14. The Enemy Holds the Cities, We the Rural Areas, Therefore the War Is a Long, Drawn-out One. But the Rural Areas Can Eventually Overcome the Cities

Therefore, the problem is: after the enemy occupied China's major cities and communications lines, it holds the cities to deal with us while we hold the rural areas to deal with them, and can the rural areas be victorious over the cities? The answer is: there will be difficulties, but it is possible.

The protracted nature of the anti-Japanese war of resistance is brought about not only because we are a semi-colonial country and the enemy is an imperialist nation, but also because this imperialism also occupied our cities, and we have to retreat to the rural areas to resist the enemy. On this point, the theory of quick victory has no basis at all. But the problem of China's cities and rural areas is distinct in nature from those of the foreign capitalist countries. In the capitalist countries the cities in form and in practicality dominate the rural areas. When the head--the cities--is lopped off, the limbs--the rural areas--cannot survive. It is inconceivable that in countries like Britain, the United States, France, Germany, Japan, and Italy a long, rural peasant war against the cities is possible. It is also impossible in small, semi-colonial countries. Several decades ago, it would also be very difficult for a big, semi-colonial country like China. But today, this possibility has developed in a big, semi-colonial country like China. In this it is obvious that there are the 3 three-in-one conditions.

First is the semi-colonial condition. In a semi-colonial country, the cities, although essentially in a leading position, cannot completely control the rural areas. This is because the cities are too small and the rural areas too vast, and the large supply of manpower and material is in the rural areas, not in the cities.

Second is the condition of a big country. A part of it is lost but another part remains. The enemy encounters a big country with few troops. When our strong and resolute resistance is added to this, it forces the creation of the difficulties of inadequate troops and their dispersion. In this way it

has not only given us a general base for resisting Japan--that is the vast rear areas like Yunnan, Kweichow, Szechwan and other areas--it has made it impossible for the enemy to occupy; also, a vast area for guerrilla activities has been provided us behind the enemy's lines, such as North, Central, and South China and other areas, thereby making it impossible for the enemy to occupy all of the territories.

Third is the condition of today. If China had been occupied by a big imperialist country by force of arms, as in the case of Britain's occupation of India, several decades ago, it would be difficult to avoid becoming a colony. But today it is different. Today, of primary importance is that China has progressed. It has a new political party, army, and people, and these form the basic strength for defeating the enemy. Next is that the enemy has retrogressed. The developmental course of imperialist Japan's social economy has reached the stage of senility. The growth of capitalism in Japan has created, and is creating, conditions that will send it to its own grave. In addition, the international situation has changed. The old world is nearing death and annihilation and a new world is dawning. I have spoken in detail on these reasons in my article "On Protracted War." In brief, in today's semi-colonial big country like China, there exist many conditions which are favorable to our organizing a resolutely fought, protracted and large-scale war to oppose the enemy occupying the cities. Surrounding and isolating the cities with interlocking warfare, gradually fostering the growth of our own forces in a protracted war, transforming the situation between the enemy and ourselves, and coordinating with the changes in the world, will enable us to drive out the enemy and recover the cities. It is beyond doubt that in today's China it is also difficult for the rural areas to oppose the cities because the cities are always concentrated while the rural areas are dispersed. After the enemy occupied our major cities, our administrative areas and battle lines were carved up topographically, thereby bringing many difficulties upon us. This decided the protracted and merciless nature of the anti-Japanese war of resistance. However, it is necessary for us to say that for the rural areas to be able to defeat the cities, it is because it has the above mentioned three-in-one conditions. Under conditions of civil war, a very small portion of the rural areas supported a long war of opposition against the cities, and that was at a time when the imperialist countries were as one in opposition to communism. Who can say that under the condition of national war, and also in a period when the imperialist camp is split, China, with its greater part of the rural areas, cannot support a protracted war to oppose the enemy in the cities? There is no doubt that it is possible. Furthermore, the present so-called rural areas are greatly different from that of the civil war period. Its territory is not only huge, but in the vast rear areas of Yunnan, Kweichow, and Szechwan provinces, there still are many cities and industries open to the outside, and still can carry out construction. On the basis of the preservation of the broad, rear areas and establishing guerrilla warfare bases behind enemy lines, and fostering the growth of our forces and weakening the enemy's, which, together with future favorable conditions on the international scene, will enable us to launch our counteroffensive and recover the cities. In his letter to the

people last December, Generalissimo Chiang pointed out: "The core of achieving final victory in China's protracted war does not lie in Nanking, nor in the various big cities. In reality, it is dependent upon the rural areas of the entire country and the powerful and stubborn will of the people." This is entirely correct. Although the war is difficult, a victorious future still exists.

#### 15. The Peril of Compromise Exists Overpoweringly, But It Can Be Overcome

Long ago, we said that part of those inflicted with the disease of fearing the Japanese often attempted to shake the government's determination to wage a war of resistance. They proposed the so-called peaceful compromise, and this was seen in the past after Nanking fell. Now, it is again fomenting. This is a reflection of the enemy's plots within the anti-Japanese front. This kind of peril exist in serious preponderance, and the people must give full attention to it so that the pro-Japanese faction will not be able to get its traitorous way. The plans of the pro-Japanese faction and that of the enemy is in accord. It will surely concentrate on opposition to Chiang and the Communist Party, and foist its treachery under false orders. This will cause the future of the war of resistance become doubtful. Therefore, the entire country has been aroused and is aware of the fact that the enemy's schemes and the sowing of discontent within our ranks are frightening. They must take the initiative to consciously strive to oppose this kind of plot without slackening its effort for the least bit. Is this kind of peril possible to be overcome? It is. After the Kuomintang and the Communist Party have become united as one with all patriots and put out the necessary effort, it is not only imperative, but also completely possible to overcome this peril of compromise, drive out and eliminate the devils who openly aided the enemy, and persist in the war of resistance. This is because the pro-Japanese, after all, does not have too much power, while that of the anti-Japanese faction is greater than the pro-Japanese.

#### 16. The New State of the Guerrilla Warfare in the Stalemate Stage

In the new stage, the frontal defense is the main force, and the guerrilla warfare behind the enemy's lines will become, for a while, the principal form of warfare. But the guerrilla war in the enemy's rear during the stalemate stage will adopt a type of new state to develop. What is this new state of the guerrilla warfare? It is, firstly, the ability to develop extensively in the vast areas. This is because the territory is huge on our side, while on the enemy side its troops are inadequate and dispersed. If only we can adhere to the policy of expanding the guerrilla war and give it correct leadership, it will be impossible for the enemy to completely stop our expansion. Secondly, in some important strategic areas, such as North China and the lower basin of the Yangtze River, we will encounter ruthless enemy attacks and it will become impossible to maintain big army corps in the plains areas. The mountain areas will become the main bases, and guerrilla troops in some areas will possibly have to cut back in numbers. We must prepare now for the coming of this state of affairs. Currently, in order to coordinate with the fighting of the main forces and prepare for the transition to a new stage, we should,

in general, separate the guerrilla warfare behind the enemy's lines into two types of areas. One type is the areas where guerrilla warfare has been fully expanded, such as North China. The principal policy here is to consolidate the foundation already established, so as to make preparations which will enable us to defeat the enemy's ruthless offensives in the new stage and hold on to our bases. Another type is the areas where guerrilla warfare has not been fully expanded, or are now beginning to be expanded, such as in the areas of central China. The principal policy here is to rapidly develop guerrilla warfare in order to avoid having difficulties with the expansion of guerrilla warfare with the return of the enemy's troops. In the future, in order to coordinate with the main force manning the frontal defenses so that it will have an opportunity to rest and regroup, and to develop forces in preparation for the counteroffensive, we must put all our efforts into the guerrilla war resolutely defending the bases. In the protracted period of persistence, train the guerrilla troops into a new force to enmesh the enemy and aid the frontal positions. Generally speaking, the guerrilla warfare behind the enemy's lines in the new stage will be much more difficult than in the preceding stage. We must foresee such difficulties and accept them. We must not become confused just because it was easy to expand in the preceding stage, because the enemy will definitely turn around to attack the guerrilla war. However, it is still possible to persist in it, and all leaders of the work being done behind the enemy's rear must have this confidence. This is because the guerrilla warfare in the national war of resistance, regardless of how powerful the enemy is, is much superior than under the condition of civil war. To win over and collapse the puppet forces so as to isolate the Japanese, is, at this point, an extremely important task.

17. The New Stage of Development of the Anti-Japanese War of Resistance Is, At the Same Time, the New Stage of Development of the Anti-Japanese National United Front

The above are problems all concerned with the state of affairs of the anti-Japanese war of resistance, and the following will concern the state of affairs of the Anti-Japanese National United Front.

The time when the anti-Japanese war of resistance has developed into a new stage is the time when the Anti-Japanese National United Front has done the same. Because there will be even more difficulties to be encountered in the new stage, the Anti-Japanese National United Front, in accordance with this kind of situation, should display its might in the struggle against difficulties and overcome any kind of difficulties against which it is pitted. So that the Chinese Anti-Japanese National United Front can display that it has the power to overcome difficulties, and not its inability, in the current transitional stage and upon entering the new stage in the future, it must earnestly consolidate and expand the United Front. A long-term war can be supported only by a long-term united front. The protracted nature of the war and that of the National United Front are inseparable.

## 18. The Kuomintang Has a Bright Future

The Anti-Japanese National United Front has the Kuomintang and the Communist Party for its base, and of these two the Kuomintang is the first big party. The development and adherence to the war of resistance cannot be imagined separate from the Kuomintang. The Kuomintang has its glorious history. Of primary importance is the overthrow of the Ch'ing dynasty, the founding of a republic, the opposition to Yuan Shih-k'ai, the establishment of a policy of unification with the Soviet Union, with the Communist Party, as well as a worker-peasant policy, and the carrying out of the great revolution of the 15th and 16th year after the founding of the republic. Today, it is again leading the great war of resistance against Japan. It has a historical tradition of the Three People's Principles, it has two great leaders, Dr Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek, one following the other, and it has a broad mass of loyal and patriotic party members. All these must not be ignored by the people. All these are the results of the development of China's history. In the course of carrying out the war of resistance against Japan and in the forming of the Anti-Japanese National United Front, the Kuomintang stood in the position of leadership.

In the past 15 months, the various anti-Japanese parties and factions have seen improvement, and the progress of the Kuomintang was very clear. It convened the provisional congress, proclaimed the program for the war of resistance, convened the People's Political Council, began the organization of the Three People's Principles Youth League, accepted the legal existence of the various parties and factions to resist Japan and carry out national construction together, implemented to a certain degree democratic power, carried out reforms in the military and in political organizations, made foreign policy compatible with the demands of opposition against Japan, and others, all of which are major events of historical significance. Based solely on the premise of persisting in the war of resistance and in the United Front, it can be predicted that the Kuomintang's future will be bright.

However, up to now, there are still quite a few people harboring an incorrect observation of the Kuomintang, and they doubt its future. The doubt they hold is the problem of whether it can continue to wage the war of resistance, whether it can continue to progress, and whether it can become an ally for opposing Japan and national construction. Furthermore, these problems are mutually connected and inseparable. What is our opinion on this? We hold that the Kuomintang has a bright future. On the basis of various subjective and objective conditions, it is able to continue with the war of resistance, continue to progress, and become an ally for opposing Japan and national construction.

Because of the determined nature of the enemy's offensive, the severe blows dealt by the enemy to the various class strata of China and its plunder, the anger of the troops throughout China against the enemy and their courageous war of resistance, the upsurge of the anti-Japanese movement throughout China, the existence of a favorable state of affairs on the international scene--all these facts have basically decided the political direction of the Kuomintang and

the entire country. First, any party or faction, including the Kuomintang, the Communist Party, and other anti-Japanese political parties and organizations, must continue to wage the war of resistance. Whoever does not do so has only one way out, and that is to become a traitor. There is no other way. Second, any party or faction, if it only continues to wage the war of resistance, must progress. It is beyond doubt that the progress of domestic politics is not rapid and not on a general scale, therefore, it brought about the damage wrought by war. But it is also because of such loss that will compel it to seek progress in politics, military affairs, culture, party tasks, and people's movements so as to enable it to resist the enemy and recover lost territory. Regardless of whether it is the Kuomintang that is in power, or any other party or faction, they must all continue to make progress. Third, an important link in the progress made domestically is the democratization of the organizational form of the Kuomintang. It has caused itself to become an alliance for resisting Japan and for national construction, and the best organizational form for the Anti-Japanese National United Front. Is there such a possibility? I believe there is. If the Kuomintang does not, in accordance with the trend of the situation of the war of resistance, open its doors to the masses and hold in one great organization the patriotic parties and factions and patriots of the entire nation, it will be impossible for it to shoulder the difficult task of continuing the war of resistance and defeat the enemy. In its 50-year history, the Kuomintang, whenever it encountered a great revolutionary struggle, always transformed itself into an alliance of national revolution. There were two occasions when this happened which were most prominent and had historical significance. The first time was from the formation of the T'ung-meng Hui [0681 4147 2585] to the Hsin Hai [6580 0075] revolution. With the objective to oppose the Ch'ing dynasty and establish a republic, Dr. Sun Yat-sen formed an alliance with all revolutionary parties and factions (from the Kuang-fu Hui--[0342 1788 2585] to the Kelau Hui [0766 5071 2585]). During this period, annals of heroic struggles filled the party roster. It went from victory to victory, enriched with vigor and, therefore, was successful in its Hsin Hai revolution. The second time was from the 13th to the 16th years after the founding of the republic. With opposition to imperialism and the warlords as the objective, an alliance was made, domestically, with the workers, peasants, and the Communist Party, and, abroad, it formed an alliance with the socialist country of the Soviet Union, and established the famous "Three Great Policies." Because of this, the Whampoa Military Academy was established, a party army was formed, and victory was won in the Northern Expedition. All these not only manifested the development of the Kuomintang's United Front, but also that of the Three People's Principles. Today is the moment for the Kuomintang to become a revolutionary national alliance for the third time in its history. It is not only possible but imperative, for it to transform itself into a national alliance for opposing Japan and national construction for the purpose of opposing imperialist Japan and establishing a republic based upon the Three People's Principles. This great movement is already beginning to unfold. By accepting the legal status of the Communist Party and other parties and factions, by accepting the Eighth Route Army into the people's revolutionary army system, by its clear announcement in its program for war of resistance and national construction in which it declared "if we are seeking certain victory in the war of resistance and certain success in national construction, we must rely upon the

efforts of our Party's comrades and the people of the entire country to unite and shoulder this task together," as well as the convening of the People's Political Council and the organization of the Three People's Principles Youth League, the Kuomintang has indicated the beginning of a transformation of itself into a national alliance for opposing Japan and national construction. The current problem is: what kind of attitude should the Communist Party take with regard to this movement of the Kuomintang to expand its organization? Should we approve or oppose? We say we approve the Kuomintang's expansion and development of itself into a national revolutionary alliance at any time. When the Kuomintang reorganized in the 13th year after the founding of the republic, we adopted an attitude of approval. We shall go all out to approve and support it today when the national peril is extremely grave. The reason is that the bigger the anti-Japanese allied armies are, the better it will be. It is not enough to beat back imperialist Japan with only the development and progress of the Communist Party. Although the second place Communist Party of China has initiated and adhered to the United Front of all parties, factions, and armies, as well as opening the doors of its own organization to the broad masses of revolutionary comrades in a drive to achieve victory in opposing Japan, it will be extremely harmful to the United Front and the war of resistance if the first place Kuomintang continues to preserve the old state of affairs. The war of resistance cannot be won, the entire nation will be in peril, and the Communist Party and the proletariat will not be able to escape this kind of danger. Therefore, not only does the Communist Party not oppose, but also very much hope for and resolutely approve and support the Kuomintang's expanding and consolidating its organization, implementing democraticization within its party, and bring about its own transformation into a revolutionary national alliance to benefit the continuation of the war of resistance and winning final victory.

19. But There Still Are Obstacles Ahead for the Kuomintang, and Strong Efforts Must Be Made To Overcome Them Before the Kuomintang Can Develop

A bright future for the Kuomintang exists, and its progress and development are possible. Chiang Kai-shek and the majority of the Kuomintang are leading and propelling the Kuomintang forward. But, it is known to every one that there are some conservatives still in the Kuomintang, impeding the speed and degree of the Kuomintang's progress. Because of their existence, and their union with many conservatives in society, they form a counter-current in the flood of the national revolutionary war, stubbornly resisting the ship of progress. It has, with considerable strength, hindered the democraticization of the country, the implementation of all progressive enterprises necessary to the war of resistance, the carrying out of the many good policies and methods contained in the repeated proclamations, talks, speeches, and orders of Chiang Kai-shek, the implementation of the Kuomintang's program of war of resistance and national construction and the Kuomintang's orders for national salvation, and the development of mass movements. These are all facts, and they are important reasons for the Kuomintang's progress being slow and not wide-spread, and for the harm inflicted upon the war of resistance. They oppose the progress and development of the Kuomintang, and even went to the extent of proposing compromise. If these fellows were to get the upper hand, then China's national liberation enterprise would receive great setbacks.

Therefore, it is worth paying great attention to them. However, we firmly believe that such conservative influence cannot exist forever. It will be difficult for it to get the upper hand although it has not, and they are not the main stream, but an adverse current. Under the leadership of Generalissimo Chiang, and with the endeavors of the majority of the Kuomintang and the approval and support of the people of the entire nation, this kind of conservative trend can be overcome. The Communist Party resolutely support the progress of the Kuomintang, and hope that the conservatives, who are obstructing progress, will turn over a new leaf and seek progress together. We hope that these people will change. "A gentleman's impropriety are like the eclipses," everything will be all right if they reform. In reality we have seen many conservatives making progress in the course of the war of resistance, and, henceforth, there inevitably will be many people attaining consciousness through the lessons learned from the war of resistance and make progress together with the masses. This is the reformable nature of the conservatives in the anti-Japanese war. But there also is the possibility that some may become even worse, willingly allowing themselves to be swept away by the huge wave of the war of resistance. And this is another side of the changeable nature. With regard to this kind of people it is of no loss to us.

#### 20. Other Parties and Factions Also Have a Bright Future

All the parties and factions participating in the anti-Japanese war and the Anti-Japanese National United Front, based upon the premise of persisting in the war of resistance and the United Front, all have a future for development. We are willing to establish long-term cooperation with them, and also give them all possible approval and support. This is the same for all regardless of whether it is a third party, the national youth party, national socialist party, national salvation association faction, or any other groups, parties, or factions. It is very obvious that the so-called bright future for all parties and factions on the premise of persisting in the war of resistance and adhering to the United Front encompasses the efforts made within the parties of the trend toward conservatism. If there is such a trend which will be harmful to the war of resistance and the United Front, and it is allowed to develop unchecked, there will then be the danger of destroying its bright future. Regardless of whether it is the Kuomintang, the Communist Party, or other parties and factions, it will be the same for all, and full attention must be given to this problem.

#### 21. The Characteristics of the Anti-Japanese National United Front of China

Because of China's historical causes, it has made today's Anti-Japanese National United Front of China different from any united fronts of foreign countries, like the popular front, nor is it like the united fronts in China's history, such as the first cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party. This is the reason why there is the special characteristics of today's China. Recognizing these characteristics has great significance with regard to the consolidation and expansion of the Anti-Japanese National United Front.

What are these characteristics? The conclusion is that there are eight characteristics. They are those of national opposition against Japan, of the protracted nature, of imbalance, of the armies, of the experience gained from the 15 months, of the majority of the people still lacking organization, of the Three People's Principles, and of the new international situation.

First of all, it is that of the opposition against Japan by the entire nation. This characteristic has defined the basic nature of our United Front. On the one hand it is for the purpose of opposing imperialist Japan, a foreign nation which has invaded our nation's territory, that our United Front was formed and developed. On the other hand, the organizational elements include the various different parties and factions of the entire nation, different classes, different armies, and different nationalities, forming into one of the largest groups. The organizational elements can be so big because it is for the purpose of opposing the aggression of a foreign nation. Because of its colossal size, this United Front has immense power. But at the same time, many mutual frictions within the United Front are difficult to avoid, and they must suitably be adjusted. Only thus can the objective of uniting to oppose the outsiders be attained. This kind of most basic characteristics of our United Front--the political objective of opposing aggression by a foreign nation and the extreme massiveness of the organizational elements--are different from the popular fronts of France and Spain. It is also different from the national front of the first great revolution period (the cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party). It has brought about the production of many specific contents and specific results in the United Front of today. This is the first characteristic and strong point of today's United Front, although, at the same time, it is unavoidable to have weaknesses with respect to the complexity of its organization.

Second is its long-term nature. This characteristic is an outcropping of the first. Because this United Front utilizes national warfare to oppose Japanese imperialism, and Japanese imperialism is a powerful imperialism, it therefore, gave birth to the long-term nature of the anti-Japanese war and, in its turn, produces the long-term nature of the United Front. This will be brought up in the 5th part of my report. It is the starting point for all policies. In this regard it is also different from the first cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party.

The third is imbalance. Because of historical causes, it has brought about an imbalance in the political power of the various parties, factions, and classes. At the same time, this kind of imbalance is also manifested in the distribution of areas. The Kuomintang is the first big party with real power, the Communist Party is second, and the others follow behind. This situation has brought forth many specific things.

The fourth is the nature of the armies. The Kuomintang and the Communist Party both have armies--this result of specific historical conditions is not a weakness, but a strong point. Because of the armies of the two parties, they have been able to discharge all of the best responsibilities of division of labor in the course of the war against Japan, and the benefits of mutual

emulation and encouragement also became more numerous. In this respect, it is similar to that of Spain, but different from that of France as well as the first cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party. This is also one of the factors which made long-term cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party possible.

Fifth is that of the 15 months' experience. The period from 1924 to 1927 is the 4 years of the first cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party. The period from 1927 to 1936 is the 9 years of division between them. Now, the new-cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party has lasted for 2 years. The experience of the cooperation-division-new-cooperation of the past 15 years has taught a most profound lesson to the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, as well as to other parties and factions, and to the people of the entire nation. The conclusion is that there only should be cooperation, not division. This is also one of the foundations for long-term cooperation. This valuable experience is not available to other countries of the world, and it was also unavailable during the first cooperation between the two parties.

Sixth is that of the majority of the masses being without an organization. This is a characteristic of China, and the various foreign countries are different from this. Therefore, it is a shortcoming which made the United Front lacking an existing and organized people's base. But at the same time, the various parties can divide the labor among themselves to organize the masses. It is not necessary for them to crowd together in one place in perpetual friction, because you can find everywhere masses without organizations and are waiting to be organized to meet the urgent need of the war of resistance.

Seventh is that of the Three People's Principles. The Anti-Japanese National United Front has the Three People's Principles for its base. It is a base not only for cooperating to oppose Japan, but also for cooperation in national construction. The nationalism of the Three People's Principles will lead this cooperation to wresting national liberation, people's power will lead this cooperation to thoroughly establish a democratic country, and the people's livelihood will, even more possibly, lead this cooperation into a very long-term affair. The political program and political ideology of the Three People's Principles ensures the long-term nature of the United Front.

Eighth is that of being in a new, international situation. The political and economic conditions of today's world is different from both periods of the first cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party and the subsequent division. Today, only a portion of the imperialist countries like Germany, Italy, and Japan oppose Kuomintang-Communist Party cooperation and the Anti-Japanese National United Front. Another portion of the imperialist countries, because of the contradictions between them and Japan, also do not oppose our United Front for the present, but, on the contrary, they take a stand of approval. All of the progressive people of all the countries support us. The Soviet Union supports us sincerely. This kind of a new international situation has very important impact upon our long-term cooperation.

It will be possible to adopt a suitable policy politically and in the attitude toward work only through intense study and understanding of the aforesaid characteristics. Political problems and work problems cannot be handled in the manner of treating the symptoms and not the cause, but problems should be resolved correctly on the basis of a scientific foundation. The victory in the anti-Japanese war and the consolidation and expansion of the Anti-Japanese National United Front require this type of scientific foundation.

## 22. The New Situation of the United Front

The Anti-Japanese National United Front must appear with a new posture in the new stage of the war against Japan so as to be able to handle the new situation of the war. This new posture is the wide-scale development and high degree of consolidation of the United Front. The lesson of the 15 months of unity and war of resistance will stimulate various parties to understand the necessity for this kind of consolidation and development. With regard to development, it is the enlargement of the Party's organization and the expansion of people's organizations. As for consolidation, the various parties are to adopt new policies and new work, diminish mutual friction, and achieve a truly sincere unity to meet the national peril. There are many difficulties in the new stage of the war of resistance. It is only through the large-scale development of the organizations of the various parties in the United Front and consolidation to a high degree the inner relationships of the various parties, as well as the relationships between the various parties, that the new political tasks can be carried out with vigor, difficulties overcome and the objective of stopping the enemy's offensive and preparing for our counteroffensive attained. This is the new state of affairs of the United Front in the new state of the anti-Japanese war. Through the concerted effort of the various parties and the enthusiastic support of the people throughout the country, it will be entirely possible for this kind of new state to emerge.

## IV. The Current Urgent Task for the Entire Nation

In accordance with the summation made in the past on the war of resistance and the estimates of the development of a new stage in the United Front, what should be the current, urgent task for the entire nation? What differences should there be with that of the past?

In general, the task should be persisting in the war of resistance and in protracted warfare, consolidating and expanding the United Front so as to overcome difficulties, stop the enemy's offensive, prepare our forces, carry out our counteroffensive, and achieved the objective of finally driving out the enemy.

Specifically speaking, there are the following concrete tasks. All organizational elements of the Anti-Japanese National United Front should support the government. Furthermore, they must, under the leadership of the government carry out the mobilization of the entire nation. Communist Party members should be models in the implementation of these tasks.

1. Rouse To a High Degree National Self-Respect and Confidence, Persist to the End With the War of Resistance, and Oppose Attempts at Compromise

It is estimated that there will develop and grow, among part of the people, a mood of pessimism and hopelessness regarding the future of the war of resistance, because of the loss of major cities and communications, difficulties in finance and economy, and the untimeliness of international aid. The Japanese, traitors, and pro-Japanese factions will definitely take advantage of this mood to vigorously fan up an atmosphere of compromise in an attempt to shake our determination to wage the war of resistance. Therefore, the first task of the entire nation is to rouse to a high degree national self-respect and confidence, overcome the pessimistic mood of some of the people, resolutely support the government in continuing with the policy of resistance, oppose any plans to surrender and compromise, and persist to the end with the war of resistance. This task has become more important than in any other periods of the past.

With this as the objective, we must mobilize newspapers, periodicals, schools, propaganda groups, culture and arts groups, military and political organizations, people's organizations, and all other possible forces and carry out wide-spread propaganda and encouragement among the officers and men on the front lines, rear echelon troops on guard, the people of the lost territories, and the masses of the entire country. We must carry out this policy in a resolute and planned manner, advocate waging the war of resistance to the end, oppose surrender and compromise, and purge the mood of despair. We must repeatedly point out the possibility and inevitability of final victory, that compromise means death, and the way out lies only in the war of resistance. We must call upon the entire nation to unite and not to fear difficulties, nor sacrifices. We definitely will have freedom, we definitely will win. We must utilize these to achieve the objective of the entire country continuing with the war of resistance in one accord.

For this purpose, all propaganda and encouragement must take the following aspects under consideration. In one respect we must utilize national revolutionary models which have emerged and are in the process of emerging (such as courageous resistance in the war and sacrificing oneself for the country, P'inghsingkuan, T'aierchuang, the 800 heroes, the advance of guerrilla warfare, the generous contribution of money, the patriotism of the overseas Chinese, and others) and propagate widely to the front lines and the rear areas, domestically and internationally. In another respect we must expose, purge, and eliminate the negative factors that exist, and are growing, in the national front (compromise tendencies, moods of despair, phenomena of corruption, and others). In still another respect we must announce to the entire country concrete facts concerning all of the enemy's cruel and inhuman acts and make accusations to the world in order to achieve the objective of enhancing national consciousness and rousing national self-respect and self-confidence. We must know that the inadequacy of such consciousness and self-confidence is greatly hampering the tasks of overcoming difficulties and preparing for the counteroffensive.

## 2. Support Generalissimo Chiang, the Nationalist Government, and the Cooperation Between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, and Oppose Separation and Division and Any Puppet Governments

In the new situation the enemy's policy will inevitably concentrate upon opposing Chiang and the Communist Party, and establishing a puppet government on a national scale in an attempt to topple Generalissimo Chiang and the nationalist government, and sabotage the cooperation and unity of the Kuomintang and the Communist Party. With the focus on this enemy policy, the second task for the entire nation will be to call upon the whole country to act in complete accord and sincerely support Generalissimo Chiang, the nationalist government, the cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, and the unification of the whole country, and oppose any enemy action which will be harmful to them and any puppet government ruling China.

For this purpose we must adjust the relationship between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, between the central government and the local areas, between the various armies participating in the war of resistance, and between the government and the people. In these relationships, advocate a fair and reasonable spirit of mutual love and cooperation, reduce friction and divided opinions, and oppose action which utilizes difficulties to create trouble for the government. We must call upon the entire country to give serious attention to the enemy's, traitors', and pro-Japanese factions' evil plot to sow dissension in our ranks and create dissatisfaction and division. We must prevent any unfavorable impact upon the prestige of Generalissimo Chiang and the nationalist government; we must create an ever-growing intimacy in the cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party and the unity of the entire nation, and establish a solid core of continuing to wage the war of resistance in difficult circumstances, and we must use them to oppose the enemy and the puppet government, overcome difficulties, and prepare for the counteroffensive.

## 3. Strengthen the Combat Effectiveness of the Main Force, Defend Central, Southern, and Southwest China, and Halt the Enemy's Offensive

Focusing on the enemy's current attack on Wuhan and his plans to continue its attack on southern and southwest China, the third task for the nation is to heighten the combat effectiveness of the main force, reorganize existing troops, and increase organization of new troops for the purpose of defending central, southern, and southwest China and stopping the enemy's offensives. With respect to the Chinese main force, it must, for this purpose, first develop a high level of mobile warfare. At the same time support it with necessary and possible line defense, oppose the enemy at every step and drain its effective strength. Second, it must establish in the vast rear areas those military factories that are possible to construct, and also enhance their manufacturing capability to support the front lines with weapons and ammunition. Third, it must carry out the national revolutionary political work conscientiously among its troops, the education in politics, culture, and entertainment, and enhance the spirit of courageous struggle and prolonged and arduous combat throughout its forces. Fourth, it must improve the

life of the enlisted men on the basis of materials on hand, organize economic committees in the companies, and let the soldiers control the food. Fifth, it must promote conscious discipline, abolish the system of cursing and striking, and advocate friendliness and unity between the officers and men in order to improve their relationship. Sixth, it must implement selling and buying publicly, treat people with friendliness, abstain from coercive levy of food grains and conscripting transportation labor and soldiers by force, and change to the method of political mobilization to resolve the problems of transportation labor and new soldiers so as to improve relations between the military and the civilians. Seventh, enhance the spirit of friendliness and mutual aid between the various armies on the front lines and between the front line armies and the rear area armies, aiding each other in battle and emulating each other in work, and eliminate the bad phenomena of watching each other and be envious of each other so as to improve the relationship between the various armies. Eighth, reorganize existing troops and make up for the shortages while, at the same time, organizing additional new troops and intensifying their education and training in order to put them in an advantageous position for prolonged combat. Utilize all these methods to enhance the combat effectiveness of the main force for fighting in defense of central, southern, and southwest China and for struggling to stop the enemy's offensives and prepare for our counteroffensive.

#### 4. Expand on a Large Scale Guerrilla Warfare Behind the Enemy, Establish and Consolidate Our Bases, Constrict Enemy-Occupied Territories, and Coordinate With the Main Force in Battle

With the focus on the enemy's objective, which is to carry on with their offensive against us, and, also, to pull out some troops to attack the guerrilla war at a determined period of time, in an attempt to consolidate the territories it has occupied and make it difficult for China to counter-attack, the fourth task of the entire nation is to develop on a massive scale the guerrilla warfare in the enemy's rear. Establish many bases, consolidate them, and use them to decrease the size of the enemy's occupied territories. Fight in coordination with the main force to stop the enemy's advance at present and, later, to carry out the counteroffensive. An important characteristic of the anti-Japanese national war of the semi-colonial country of China is the wide-scale and protracted nature of the guerrilla war. Without it, it would be impossible to tie up large numbers of enemy troops and give strong support in battle to the regular troops and stop the enemy's offensive; it would not be possible to restrict the enemy's occupied territories to limited areas and prevent the enemy from occupying all of it; nor would it be possible to erect many anti-Japanese bastions behind the enemy's lines, persist in guerrilla warfare, and prepare to coordinate with the regular troops to mount the strategic counteroffensive in the future. Therefore, first, guerrilla warfare must be developed widely in all the areas behind enemy lines, a vast number of bases for guerrilla warfare must be set up, and those that have already been set up must be consolidated. Second, we must follow the example of North China and retain or dispatch an ample number of regular troops to the various strategic areas in the enemy's rear to form the mainstay of the protracted guerrilla war. These troops must learn

guerrilla tactics gradually, strengthen their political work, develop mass movements, set up bases, and help the people's guerrilla units and the guerrilla warfare they are waging to become regular troops and wage a regular war. Third, the zeal of all men and women in all the war areas and behind the enemy lines to defend the country and protect their villages must be mobilized. Besides mobilizing them in large numbers to participate in the guerrilla units separated from production work and filling the ranks of the regular troops left behind the enemy lines, organize them into quasi-military anti-Japanese people's defense units. The organization of anti-Japanese people's defense units should become a regular and wide-spread system in all the war areas and behind the enemy lines. They must not become divorced from production. Fourth, the people must be helped in organizing guerrilla units on a wide-scale. These units are divorced from production, and all counties and areas should have them so that they will become tiny units for attacking the enemy and defending the area. Fifth, to enhance their combat effectiveness, political work must be established in these guerrilla units, education in military affairs, politics, culture, and recreation must be strengthened. Sixth, correct systems in military affairs and political matters must be established in the guerrilla units, equal treatment of officers and men implemented, and economic matters handled openly. Seventh, reform the bandit bands and make them take the road of resistance against Japan, and wipe out bandit bands that are behind our lines and those being utilized by the enemy. Eighth, the supply of ammunition for guerrilla warfare is a very important question. On the one hand, the vast rear areas should supply them as much as they possibly can, and, on the other, every guerrilla warfare base should by all possible means set up small ordinance factories, so that they will be able to manufacture on their own ammunition, rifles, and hand grenades so that there will be no worry with regard to the lack of ammunition for the guerrilla war. Ninth, in accordance with the enemy situation and our strategic needs, re-delimit the war areas and administrative areas behind the enemy lines, and make them compatible with the new war situation. Tenth, in accordance with strategic needs, the leadership of the various units and administrative areas behind the enemy lines must be unified in order to concentrate forces to resist the enemy, eliminate contradictions within; but warlord like behavior of swallowing each other up must be opposed.

##### 5. Enhance Military Techniques, Establish Mechanized Corps, and Make Ready the Strength for the Counteroffensive

The chief reason the enemy is able to penetrate deeply step by step despite its inferiority in numbers is, besides our political situation, that of our being inferior in techniques. Focusing on the enemy's strong points and our shortcomings, the fifth task for the entire nation is the enhancement of military techniques, increasing the number of planes, artillery pieces, tanks, and skills for handling them, and prepare our strength to carry out the counteroffensive. For this purpose, it is necessary, on the one hand, to utilize the manufacturing capability we have now, and those that can possibly grow, to begin manufacturing partially, and carry out this work in earnest. On the other hand, use many methods to import new weapons from abroad for gradual improvement of military equipment, and to establish a truly modernized mechanized corps. Without doubt we should view problems in the light

of reality. In fact, large number of inferior weapons are being used in battles. Therefore, we should call upon the troops and civilians of the entire nation to arm themselves. We believe that inferior weapons can also defeat the enemy. We must enhance the political spirit, improve battle methods, develop guerrilla warfare to make up for the inadequacy in modern weapons. If we do not concentrate our efforts in this respect, we are ignoring the current and real problems, and it will not be possible to overcome the present difficulties. In order to prepare for the strategic counteroffensive, we must, in the future, enhance new technics and establish new types of troops. We should know that troops in sufficient strength, but lacking in modern, new techniques and equipment, will find it impossible to carry out the counter-offensive and recover lost territory. If we do not heighten our attention in this respect, and begin working on it as circumstances permit, we will be only looking at the present and forgetting the future, and it will not be possible to overcome difficulties. In China, where man and material power are plentiful, it is definitely not an impossibility to gradually improve technical equipment, if only the political conditions and mobilization methods make progress, plus the fact that there is international aid.

6. Implement Democratic Politics Under Unified Leadership, Make the Relationship Between the Government and the People More Intimate, and Give Play to the Utmost the Massive Strength of the Anti-Japanese Political Power

The enemy is taking advantage of our shortcomings, not only in the military, but also in the political field--our political system is not being democratized and cannot establish close relationship with the broad masses of people. In order to make up for these shortcomings, the sixth task for the entire nation will be in implementing a democratic system under concentrated leadership. If there is no such reform, to win final victory over the Japanese will also be impossible. Democratic politics is the prime mover for mobilizing all new forces of the entire nation. With this system, the anti-Japanese zeal of the people throughout the country will be mobilized to an immeasurable degree, and become an inexhaustible well-spring. The accomplishment of great course of uniting the whole nation thoroughly is also dependent solely upon the establishment of a democratic system. On this point, we must plan and execute on the basis of facts regarding all its aspects. First, the convening of the Kuomintang political council has started the democratization of the nation on its first step. Henceforth, we should effect the open and smooth progress of the work of the council, implement all of the resolutions made by it, and in accordance with the programs already passed by the council, conscientiously carry out the establishment of local political councils at various levels and in various provinces to implement democratic politics. Second, we must ensure that the freedom of speech, publications, gathering, association, and belief set forth in the program of the war of resistance and national construction will be fully implemented within the boundaries of the entire nation. These freedoms are encompassed within the war of resistance and national construction, and only by fully guaranteeing them will it be beneficial to the rousing of the anti-Japanese, national construction forces on a general scale. The problem here is to ensure that the laws and decrees of the central government will be carried out and not restricted at will

locally. What should be restricted is the type of freedom which will not be beneficial to the war of resistance and national construction, that is, the freedom of traitors and pro-Japanese factions, and the others should not be put on the restriction list. Third, many democratic systems should be begun from the war areas and the enemy's rear. For example, local governments to be elected by the people, and the higher level placing them in office. The various levels of government in the war areas should adopt the committee system of democratic concentrated power, and also establish various organizations of people's representatives. The government in the war areas should increase certain necessary work departments. It should change the style of official documents, purge corrupt, decadent, and inefficient elements, and absorb anti-Japanese activists. It should lower salaries and promote a spartan life so as to be compatible with the arduous, complicated, and fluid circumstances of the war areas. Under the unified leadership of the Central Government, the local governments of the war areas have the power to proclaim laws and decrees for the locality only. With the exception of traitors, the male and female citizens of the war areas all have the right to elect and be elected, and the freedom to speak, publish, gather, associate, and arm themselves to resist Japan. All anti-Japanese parties and factions in the war areas have publicly recognized legal status, etc. If there are no such political reforms in the war areas, specially in the enemy's rear, it will be impossible to support a long and difficult war against Japan. The methods mentioned above are all geared to binding closer the relationship between the government and the people, increasing the effective strength of the government so that it will play an enormous role in the war against Japan. There is no question that any local governments throughout the country should be concentrated under the leadership of the Central Government, and there should not be any kind of disrespect shown to the leadership of the Central Government because the administrative area has been carved up by the enemy topographically. The entire nation should implement the democratic system in accordance with the laws and decrees of the Central Government, but it should be unified under the Central Government.

#### 7. Expand the Unified People's Movements and Give All-Out Support to the War

The seventh task for the entire nation is to expand various people's movements and unify them to give full support to the war. The long and difficult war against Japan is entirely dependent upon the people. It will not be possible to wage a protracted war without general development and nation-wide unification of the people's movements. This is especially so in the war areas and behind the enemy lines. The war against Japan is now beset with new difficulties. These difficulties can be overcome successfully only by mobilizing the people. The following must be carried out throughout the nation, especially in the war areas and behind the enemy lines: First, guarantee the freedom of all anti-Japanese groups and people's movements, clearly establish the legal status of people's groups. Second, help the people's organizations materially and respect their independence. Third, diligently establish various national salvation associations which have the participation of the broad masses of workers, peasants, youths, women, businessmen, independent

entrepreneurs, people in the field of culture and children, and established a unified organization based upon the two principles of fields of enterprise and areas. Fourth, mobilize the masses to take active part in the various aspects of the war and actively support the government and the troops. Speed is essential especially in the war areas.

#### 8. Improve the Well-Being of the Masses, and Rouse the Enthusiasm of the Masses for the War of Resistance and For Production

In the past, the problem of improving the well-being of the masses has been carried out without much strength. Therefore it was unable to rouse the zeal of the broad masses of working people for the war of resistance and for production, and this was extremely unfavorable for persisting in protracted warfare. For this reason, the eighth task of the entire nation, henceforth, is in the following policies to be carried out to improve the well-being of the masses. First, preferential treatment is to be given to families of anti-Japanese soldiers and disabled fighters. Second, give aid to the refugees and disaster victims of the war areas. Third, initiate suitable cut back in rent and interest behind the enemy lines. Fourth, make equitable arrangement of food grains and important daily necessary items. Fifth, increase wages in a suitable manner and improve the treatment of workers and staff. Sixth, agree to the group contracting right of workers and peasants with employers and landlords. Seventh, prohibit employers, landlords, master craftsmen, and foremen to illtreat, beat, and abuse workers and apprentices. By implementing these preliminary steps toward improving the well-being of the people, it will later cause an inevitable enhancement in the activism of the workers, peasants, and masses of poor people to support the government and participate in the war and in production. Not only all of the mobilized help the war needs will be greatly changed, but the quantity and quality of industrial and agricultural production and flow of commerce will be greatly increased and enhanced, and the nation's economy will also be resolved satisfactorily on the basis of the new agriculture, industry, and commerce.

#### 9. Implement the New Wartime Economic Policy To Pass Over the Difficult Obstacle of War

After the loss of the major cities and the communication lines, great difficulties will appear in the nation's finances and economy. It will be impossible to pass over the period of war without new and effective methods. However, we need only to implement the new policies and mobilize the forces of the people to be able to overcome any difficulties. Therefore, the ninth task for the entire nation is to carry out new wartime financial and economic policies. The main points are as follows: First, the objective of the new policy is to ensure the supply of necessary things to the anti-Japanese armed troops, meet the demands of the people for necessary commodities, and fight against the enemy's economic blockade and economic sabotage. Second, reconstruct national defense industries in the rear areas in a planned manner. Begin on a small scale in the areas of urgent need and gradually expand and improve. Absorb capital from the government, the people, and from abroad, and mobilize workers politically, ensuring a minimum in material

compensation, improve the administrative system of factories so as to increase production ratio. All these are not only necessary, but also possible. Third, coordinating political mobilization and government laws and decrees, develop the growth of agriculture and handicraft production throughout the country, organize spring plowing and autumn harvesting movements so that the agricultural and handicraft industries throughout the country will develop under the new posture. Give attention to protecting agricultural implements, livestock, and handicraft workshops in the war areas so as to ensure that the areas that have been cut off will be self-sufficient economically. Fourth, protect the free enterprise of private industry and business, and, at the same time, pay attention to cooperative enterprises. Fifth, on the principle of paying in accordance with one's ability to pay, alter and regulate various old taxes into a unified escalating tax, abolishing excessive taxation and levies and the system of allocation, so as to lighten the people's burden and benefit revenue gathering. Sixth, utilizing political mobilization in coordination with government laws and decrees exact collections of national bonds and national salvation public rations, and mobilize the people to voluntarily donate money and food grains to supply the fighting troops and to have adequate financial receipts. Seventh, carry out a planned struggle against the counterfeit notes issued by the enemy and its policy to sabotage our currency. Those areas that have been cut off must be permitted to set up their own banks and issue local currency. Eighth, launch a drive for honesty and change to a new wage system on a generally equal basis in accordance with the minimum standard of living. Ninth, the national banks will make low interest loans to help the development of production enterprises and the flow of commodities. Tenth, resume and develop postal and telecommunications in the war areas. The above is but a general account. There must be a determination to earnestly reform the old system and to implement the new, and to apply it as a resolute strength, in order to eliminate the new difficulties. To persist in the protracted war, the core of the matter lies in organizing the productive activism of the broad masses of people to supply and serve the war. The Chinese war of resistance is fought under a special situation, the principal and big cities and communications lines have been occupied, and it is mainly dependent upon the peasants and the rural areas for fighting the war of resistance. The peasants have great power to support the war, but it requires necessary reforms both politically and economically. The new policies mentioned here are set forth in accordance with this kind of special situations.

#### 10. Implement the Educational Policy on the War of Resistance, and Make This Education Serve the Protracted War

Under the principle of all for the war, all cultural education work must be made to meet the needs of the war. Therefore, the tenth task for the entire nation lies in carrying out the following various cultural education policies. First, amend the school system, doing away with subjects that are not necessary or in urgent need, and change the administrative system to teach the subjects necessary to the war and give play to the enthusiasm of the student to study as the principle. Second, establish, expand, and

strengthen various types of cadre schools to foster large numbers of anti-Japanese cadres. Third, develop mass education on a wide scale, organize all sorts of supplementary schooling, literacy movements, theatrical plays, singing, and sports. Establish local popular newspapers of all kinds in front of the enemy lines and behind them so as to enhance the people's national culture and national consciousness. Fourth, operate compulsory elementary schools so as to inculcate the new generation with the national spirit. It is also necessary to mobilize the people politically and in coordination with government laws and decrees to effect all these. But, mainly, it is dependent upon mobilizing the people to educate themselves, with the government providing suitable leadership and adjustment, and giving it what possible material aid there is. It is not sufficient to accomplish the great task of enhancing national cultural and national consciousness by solely dependent upon the government using limited financial resources to run a few schools and newspapers. Since the war began the educational system has already begun to change, and there has been very obvious progress made in the war areas. But, up to now, the entire system has not changed to meet the needs of the war, and this situation is not good. The great war of resistance must be combined with a great war of resistance educational movement, and the situation of non-combination of the two must be eliminated.

#### 11. Strive To Obtain International Aid and Concentrate Our Efforts On Opposing Japanese Imperialism

Proceeding from the principle of protracted warfare and concentrated opposition against Japanese imperialism, we cannot ignore the organization of all possible aid from abroad. Therefore, the current eleventh task is in, first, opposing the advocacy of some people on taking the road of Germany and Italy, because this is in reality a measure taken in preparation to surrendering to the enemy. Second, strive all out to increase the aid given us by the various democratic countries and the Soviet Union, and, at the same time, exert all efforts to bring about a League of Nations sanction against Japan by various countries. Third, set up a permanent organization to systematically collect the facts of enemy brutalities and compile a factual record to report and spread throughout the world to focus the world's attention and rouse it to punish the Japanese fascists. Fourth, select representatives from various parties and factions, as well as various people's organizations and organize them into an international propaganda group which will visit all countries to evoke the sympathy of the peoples and governments of the various countries in coordination with the diplomacy of our government. Fifth, protect the foreign residents of China who are sympathetic to us and those who are peacefully engaged in business or missionary work. Sixth, give attention to protecting the interests of overseas Chinese, and, through the efforts of these overseas Chinese, propel forward the movements in various countries to oppose Japan and help China. In these respects, without regard to whether the aid from various countries has not changed in degree or can possibly decrease in part, and the League of Nations' resolution being fine rhetoric, we should still strive to do our best. In accordance with the protracted nature of the war, the foreign policy should also be geared for long-term and not for immediate benefits. Its emphasis must be in future aid, and this kind of foresight is necessary.

12. Establish An Anti-Aggression Front Between China, the Soldiers and Civilians of Japan, and the Oppressed Nationalities of Korea and Taiwan, and Oppose Japanese Imperialism Together

The Japanese imperialist war of aggression not only endangers China, at the same time it endangers all the soldiers and civilians of Japan and the oppressed nationalities of Korea and Taiwan. To defeat Japan's war of aggression there must be a massive and determined striving together of the soldiers and civilian masses of the two big nations of China and Japan, and the oppressed nationalities of Korea and Taiwan, and a common united front to oppose aggression must be established.

For this purpose, the twelfth task for the entire nation is, first, propose to the masses of soldiers and people of the two countries of Japan and China, and the Korean and Taiwanese nationalities this policy of a united front against aggression, and call upon them to struggle for this. Second, the government is to issue orders to all officers and men of the anti-Japanese and guerrilla units to learn a sufficient Japanese vocabulary. High-level political departments must prepare to dispatch Japanese instructors to the various troops and carry this out. Beginning with a few words until conversations can be held with Japanese officers and soldiers. Educate all the officers and men fighting the Japanese to orally propagandize the enemy's soldiers and low-ranking officers and, at the same time, use written words and illustrations to convert them gradually, requesting their assent to set up a united front against aggression together, and turning the more than 1 million Japanese troops into a friendly force which will withdraw from China and overthrow the Japanese fascists. Third, respect and treat well enemy prisoners of war and educate them so that they will influence others and efforts will be made to establish a united front against aggression. Fourth, try to organize the people in the field of culture in Japan who are opposed to aggression and bring them to China to participate in this struggle. Fifth, protect the Japanese residents in China who are sincerely loyal. Sixth, educate the military and people masses of our country to, on the one hand, enhance national self-respect and, on the other, to correct the wrong ideas that exist between the military and the people, to distinguish Japanese imperialism from the Japanese people, the enemy officers and their soldiers, and also distinguish high-ranking officers from the low-ranking ones. By implementing the above policies and methods, and together with the massive and determined efforts, this anti-aggression united front can be formed. China's victory is dependent mainly upon the increase of its own strength, but we must seize upon the coordination of the enemy's difficulties and international aid. With regard to the enemy's difficulties, besides the fact of the gradual attrition inflicted on the enemy through our protracted warfare and our strenuous diplomatic efforts to isolate Japan, it is indispensable to have the policy of establishing a common anti-aggression front with the Japanese soldiers and civilians, and the oppressed nationalities of Korea and Taiwan. The longer the Japanese war of aggression goes on, the better the possibility will be for laying the foundation of this united front.

### 13. Unite All the Nationalities in China In Opposition to the Japanese

Our Anti-Japanese National United Front is not only of the various parties and factions and classes of the country, but also of all the nationalities in the nation. Focusing on the enemy's evil schemes which have already been set in motion to split our minority nationalities within the country, and which they will intensify, the thirteenth task is to unite all nationalities as one to confront the enemy together. For this purpose, it is necessary to give attention to the following points: First, the Meng, Hui, Tsang, Miao, Yao, I, and Fan minorities must be allowed to have equal rights with the Han people. Under the principle of common struggle against Japan, they have the right to control their own affairs, and, at the same time, unite with the Han people to establish a unified country. Second, in areas where minority nationalities and the Han people are intermingled, the local government should organize a committee composed of local minority nationals to form a part of the provincial or county government. It will administer affairs concerning them, adjust relationships among the various nationalities, and there should be a seat in the provincial or county government committees. Third, respect the culture, religion, and customs of the minority nationalities. Not only should they not be forced to learn Chinese and speak it, but they should be helped to develop the culture education of using their own spoken and written language. Fourth, correct the big Han chauvinism that still exists, and promote equal treatment of minority nationalities by the Han people so as to bring relationships closer together. At the same time it is prohibited to use slighting or insulting remarks, written words, or actions toward them. The various minority nationalities should unite together and strive for the implementation of the above mentioned policies. On the one hand the government should implement it on its own initiative. Only thus can the relationships between the various nationalities in the country be truly improved and achieved, in reality, a unity against outsiders. The old method of patronizing is no longer viable.

### 14. Launch the Movement To Root Out Traitors and Consolidate the Front Lines and Rear Areas

Under the new situation, traitors, enemy spies, Trotskyites, and pro-Japanese factions will become even more rampant than before, vigorously engaging in their schemes to create rumor, slander, division, and sabotage. Therefore, the current fourteenth task is in carrying out the following methods--the launching of a campaign to root out traitors. First, rouse the alertness of all of the military and the civilians in the front lines and the rear areas to keep tight surveillance on traitors, enemy spies, Trotskyites, and pro-Japanese factions and their activities, and mercilessly suppress them in accordance with the government's laws. Second, pay attention to protecting state secrets. Renegades who leak such secrets should be punished as traitors to the country. Third, add a course on rooting out traitors in school books so as to carry out an education to heighten alertness. In the military, set up work departments at various levels for rooting out traitors. Small groups to root out traitors are to be set up in mass organizations and people's defense units, and stepped-up education in rooting out traitors

should be given to the state police so that these traitors will have no place to hide under such concentrated surveillance. Since the war of resistance began, the number of times we have suffered at the hands of these traitors cannot be counted. Long ago, fighters on the front lines were in general consensus on the frightening numbers of traitors and the magnitude they wrought on the war. In the rear areas, just the two events of leaking state secrets and leading enemy planes to a devastating raid are deeply imprinted with hate in the minds of all. If renegades are not eliminated in the protracted war, there can be no thought of victory in the war. Mobilizing the national revolutionary alertness of the broad masses, and executing the aforementioned rooting out of traitors, as well as making this a massive movement, is a grave task indispensable to achieving victory. It should be pointed out that in rooting out traitors distinction must be made between the leaders and the followers, those who consciously take part and those who were deceived, the determined ones and the vacillating ones. They must be treated differently. Heavy punishment should be given and the latter should be treated leniently. They must not be treated all alike. Attention must be given to factual evidence, no torture must be used in questioning, and false accusations must be strictly guarded against. The objective of rooting out traitors is to eliminate real renegades, and this objective can be achieved only by using correct policies and methods.

15. Develop the Strong and Consolidated United Front of the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, As Well As Other Parties and Factions, To Support the Protracted War

All of the urgent tasks set forth above must wait for the various parties and factions in the Anti-Japanese National United Front against Japan to motivate the entire nation, and, under the unified leadership of Generalissimo Chiang, resolutely implement them. In order to achieve this objective, the organizational strength of the various parties and factions in the United Front must be developed. The present strength, regardless of which party, is too inadequate, and they all must be developed. And especially the development of the Kuomintang and the Communist Party is the current urgent task. In this task of development, the various parties concerned should approve of the development of others. They should not become envious of each other and impede each other's progress. We must know that if it is an anti-Japanese party its development will be beneficial to the war against Japan. There is no doubt that the United Front has the Kuomintang and the Communist Party for its base, and the Kuomintang is the main pillar of these two. We admit to this fact. Therefore, we resolutely support Generalissimo Chiang and the Nationalist Government and Kuomintang under his leadership, and we call upon the entire nation to give them support. Admitting and supporting this mainstay and, at the same time, develop the various parties, are mutually related and not mutually conflicting.

In numbers, I believe the Kuomintang should develop to over 5 million men, the Communist Party and the other parties should develop to over a million. In a big nation of 450 million to absorb several million superior elements

to participate in the anti-Japanese parties and factions in an era of a great war of resistance is not only necessary but completely possible. If this can be done, the Anti-Japanese National United Front will be expanded, and along with it it will become even more consolidated. It fully ensures the implementation of all tasks aimed at defeating the enemy. The support of the protracted war and the long-term cooperation, and the basic objective of driving out the Japanese and establishing a new China based upon the three principles will be ours.

## V. Protracted Warfare and Long-Term Cooperation

Let us now discuss specifically on the protracted nature of the Anti-Japanese National United Front and give a complete answer to the many problems that have occurred to those people who are extremely concerned about the relationship between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party. This has important significance with regard to the consolidation and expansion of the Anti-Japanese National United Front, the consolidation and expansion of the cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, and the smooth implementation of the current urgent tasks to pass over the difficult obstacle of war.

The problems are as follows: the protracted nature of the war determines the long-term nature of the cooperation, the cooperation in the war determines the cooperation after the war, the context of the long-term cooperation and its chief conditions--the Three People's Principles and communism--the organizational form of the long-term cooperation, the policy of mutual aid and concession in the long-term cooperation, and the problem of a democratic republic. Many people are concerned about these and we should give clear-cut answers.

### 1. The Protracted Nature of the Struggle Determines the Long-Term Nature of the Cooperation

Due to the fact that the war of resistance against Japan is a protracted one, the entire Anti-Japanese National United Front can and will have to be a long one, and the cooperation between the two principal parties--the Kuomintang and the Communist Party--can, and also will have to be, a long-term one. This is the point from which all policies proceed. Therefore, our policy must, at all cost, have a long-term national united front, a long-term cooperation. We must, at all cost, together preserve a unified government, oppose division and splits, and thus benefit the passing over of the difficulties of war, oppose enemy sabotage, beat back Japanese imperialism, and accomplish the task of establishing a new China after the war. This is quite different from the Kuomintang-Communist Party cooperation from 1924 to 1927. That was only for a short period, but this is a long-term affair.

### 2. Cooperation in the War Determines Cooperation After the War

The so-called long-term cooperation applies not only to during the war, but also after it. The war against Japan is a protracted one, and the cooperation

in the war can be said to be a long-term one. But that is not enough, we hope to continue cooperating and are determined to do so. What guarantee is there to it? The guarantee lies in the cooperation during the war determines the cooperation after the war. The principal parties of the Kuomintang and the Communist Party in the Anti-Japanese National United Front must face difficulties together, exist or become extinct together. They must strive to attain progress, and only through prolonged efforts can they beat back Japanese imperialism. Otherwise, it will not be possible to do so. With two progressive parties that have faced difficulties during such a long period of time after the war is over, they will then form a foundation for continuing cooperation. At that time, conditions domestically and internationally will be even more conducive to cooperation, and this can be estimated now. There is no doubt that the contexts of the various stages of the cooperation in the war will exist, and there will be even more new contents in the cooperation after the war. But the cooperation in the war will determine that there can be cooperation after the war. This is not an estimation made without basis.

### 3. The Content of Long-Term Cooperation and Its Principal Condition

The so-called long-term cooperation is the long-term national united front. All classes, from capitalists to the workers, all political parties, from the Kuomintang to the Communist Party, all nationalities, from the Han to the Miao and Yao minority nationalities, all the troops, from the Nationalist armies to the Eighth Route Army, and all the governments, from the Nationalist government to the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region Government, are all included, with the exception of national renegades. Furthermore, they will be in the United Front for a long time. There are some people who cannot endure the arduous struggle of the protracted war. When that time comes they are apt to place their individual interests over that of the national interests and become national renegades. Therefore, the National United Front must continuously weed out these national renegades. But these weeding out still leaves the National United Front as it is. The reason is that the main condition for long-term cooperation is, first of all, the brutality of the enemy's war and its protracted nature. Because the enemy is waging a barbaric war it gravely endangers the very existence of the various class strata of the entire nation. Accordingly, it compelled the higher class strata to oppose the Japanese together with the other classes. It is inevitable that a part of the higher class level will withdraw from the anti-Japanese front. But the other parts are generally in the same position as the other classes. They are oppressed and there is no way out except through resistance. Also, because this barbaric war is a long one, it determines the long-term nature of the cooperation. All these concerns the aspects determining the cooperation to be a long-term affair. But there is another aspect. It requires the various cooperating parties, mainly the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, must adopt a correct policy and carry out work that is necessary. What kind of policy and work should they be? They should be policy and work set forth and carried out on the basis of protracted war and long-term cooperation. It should be a policy and work that will take care of the present and the future, this class and that class, this party and that party, this army and that army, and this nationality and that nationality. Otherwise the policy

will be incorrect and the work cannot be carried out, thereby creating confusion and will make it difficult for the cooperation to last long. Due to the fact that, on the one hand, the enemy's war is barbaric in nature, and, on the other, because of the correct policy and the necessary work to be done in the United Front, the Chinese National United Front should, and can be, a protracted one. It is a national front and not a people's front. It includes the cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party during and after the war, and it is not a cooperation planned to split into civil war after the war has ended.

#### 4. The Three People's Principles and Communism

The Three People's Principles is the political foundation for the Anti-Japanese National United Front and the cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party. But what is the relationship between the Three People's Principles and the Communist Party? What attitude should Communist Party members adopt toward it? Up to now there are still some people who are not clear on this point, and, therefore, it will be necessary to explain it once more.

In the provisional congress of our party held in May 1936, it passed the following document on "resolutely implement the Three People's Principles."

"Is the Communist Party in agreement with the Three People's Principles? Our answer is, yes. The Three People's Principles has its historical changes. The revolutionary Three People's Principles of Dr. Sun Yat-sen gained the trust of the people through cooperation with the Communist Party and by resolute implementation. It launched the victorious great revolution of 1925 to 1927. And because it drove out the communists (the movement to purge the Party) and carry out a contrary policy, it lost the trust of the people and brought about the failure of the revolution. Because the national and social peril are now extremely grave, there is an urgent request for cooperation between the two parties from the people of the nation and patriotic elements in the Kuomintang. Therefore, the spirit of the Three People's Principles has been reorganized. Under the principles of nationalism with independence and liberation internationally, the people's powerism of democratic freedom domestically, and the increase of the people's happiness under the principle of people's livelihood, the two parties came into cooperation again and led the people in resolutely carrying these principles out. This completely meets the historical needs of the Chinese revolution, and each party member should understand and recognize it. The Communist Party will never discard its ideals of socialism and communism. They must go through the stage of bourgeois democratic revolution in order to reach the stage of socialism and communism. The Communist Party has its own party and political programs. The Party program is socialism and communism, and it is different from the Three People's Principles. Its democratic revolutionary political program is more thorough than any other parties' or factions', but basically, it is not in conflict with the Three People's Principles program proclaimed by the first and second congress of the Kuomintang. Therefore, we not only do not reject the Three People's Principles, but are willing to resolutely implement it. We, furthermore, requested the Kuomintang to join us in implementing the Three People's

Principles, and also called upon the people of the whole country to implement the Three People's Principles so as to enable the Kuomintang, the Communist Party, and the people of the whole country to struggle together for the three great objectives of national independence, freedom of people's powers, and happiness in the lives of the people." (The task of the Chinese Anti-Japanese National United Front in its current stage, p 11)

On 22 September of last year, our Party Central Committee, in the announcement proclaiming the cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, emphasized: "The Three People's Principles of Dr. Sun Yat-sen is necessary today. Our Party is willing to struggle for its thorough implementation."

Why did such a political party as the Communist Party adopt this attitude? It is quite obvious that national independence, freedom of people's rights, and the happiness of people's livelihood are the general objective that the Communist Party seeks to realize in the national democratic revolutionary stage. It is also the general objective sought by the people of the nation, and it is not a thing sought by a certain party on its own. Understanding will come if you only look at the documents since the founding of the Communist Party and its political program. Therefore, in the past, not only during the first period of cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party from 1924 to 1927, our Party members had resolutely implemented the Three People's Principles. Even after the unfortunate disruption of the two party cooperation in 1927, all our actions did not contravene the Three People's Principles. At that time we resolutely opposed imperialism, and this is in conformity with nationalism. We implemented the political system of people's congresses, and this is in conformity with the principle of people's rights; we also initiated the land system of farmers having their own land to cultivate, and this conforms with the principle of people's livelihood. All our methods did not exceed the basic category of the system of private property of the bourgeoisie and the democratic revolution. The current stage of the war of resistance and the stage to thoroughly establish a democratic republic are, by nature, the stages of the Three People's Principles and the bourgeois democratic revolution. In order to thoroughly carry out this task of the democratic stage, all Communist Party members, undoubtedly, should sincerely implement the Three People's Principles in accordance with the general revolutionary policy they always have, as well as their own resolution and announcement, and work together with the Kuomintang, the other parties, and the broad masses of the people throughout the country. Whoever is not loyal to the beliefs of the Three People's Principles and implementing it, he is a hypocrite, not a loyal Marxist. In China, anybody loyal to Marxism, has two responsibilities at the same time, one is the current actual task, and the other is the far reaching ideals of the future. It must be understood that only by completing as much as possible the current task can there be a basis and a foundation to develop into the far-reaching and great ideal is communism, and it is the most perfect social system for all mankind. Dr. Sun Yat-sen had also considered the necessity of implementing it in order to resolve future social problems. The so-called real task of the present is the Three People's Principles. This is the task of the present stage to "achieve equal status internationally, politically, and economically," and it is a demand made by the Kuomintang, the Communist Party, and the people of the entire country. Therefore, Communist Party members should study the

Three People's Principles as carefully as they did with communism, and apply the viewpoint of Marxism to study the theories of the Three People's Principles in order to find out how the Three People's Principles can be implemented in a concrete manner, and how to use the correct ideas of the Three People's Principles to educate the masses so as to bring about a transformation from understanding to action, and struggle to beat back Japanese imperialism and construct a new China based upon the Three People's Principles.

#### 5. The Organizational Form for Long-Term Cooperation

In order to ensure long-term cooperation, it will still be necessary to resolve the problem of the organizational form for cooperation. We have already rejected the idea of one-party-ism. Whether it is in respect to past history, with respect to the current task, and with respect to the natural qualities of Chinese society, there is no basis at all for one-party-ism. It cannot be achieved, nor can it be implemented. It betrays the major objective of uniting all to oppose Japan and construct the nation, and is thoroughly harmful. Then, is there a need for a kind of unified and common organization for the various parties to co-exist and form a national united front against Japan? Yes, and it is necessary. Without such a unified and common organization for all, it will not help with the effort to unite and oppose Japan, and it is even more harmful to long-term cooperation. Therefore, the various parties should earnestly study and find a unified and common organizational form which will be most suitable for long-term cooperation. Let us take this under study now.

Due to the historical characteristics of the various parties and China's politics and economy, today's view presents three kinds of organizational forms as follows.

First, the Kuomintang itself is transformed into a national alliance, with the various parties participating in the Kuomintang but retaining their independent nature. But this will be different from the first cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party. If the Kuomintang agrees to our participation, what attitude shall we adopt? First, we approve of this method, because this is one of the best kinds of united organizational form for the Anti-Japanese National United Front, and it will be beneficial to national construction. It is not only the Communist Party, but all other parties as well which can participate in the Kuomintang. As long as the Kuomintang agrees to it, we will definitely not oppose it. If it is done this way, we can then apply the method differently from the 13 years of cooperation. That is, first, all Communist Party members will openly participate in the Kuomintang, and a list of such party members will be provided to the Kuomintang's leading organization. Second, we will not enlist any Kuomintang members to join the Communist Party. Those that want to join will be counselled not to do so in order to preserve the general situation. Third, if our young party members have been approved by the Kuomintang to participate in the Three People's Principles Youth League, it shall be the same. There will be no organization of secret party or groups, and we shall

not accept non-communist members to enter our Party. The use of this method there will be peaceful assurance for everybody, and it will be beneficial to all and without harmful effects. This is the first type of organizational form for the United Front.

The second kind is for the various parties to organize a national alliance and support Chiang Kai-shek as the supreme leader of this alliance. The various parties, on the basis of equality, dispatch representatives to organize a committee of all parties concerned from the Central Government to the various levels of local governments to work for the implementation of the common program and administer common matters. This is also a good form, and we also approve it. We proposed such a form long ago, but unfortunately, it was not implemented.

The third kind is the present method. There are no formulated documents, no need for set sites, and when problems arise, consultations will be held between the two parties to resolve them. But this form of organization is too loose, and many problems cannot be resolved satisfactorily and in a timely manner. For instance, the implementation of major political policies and the adjustment of friction in lower echelons have been neglected because there was no fixed organization to handle them. Therefore, this method is not beneficial toward long-term cooperation. However, if the first and second methods are inapplicable, this method can temporarily remain as it is.

#### 6. The Policy of Mutual Aid and Mutual Concession in the Long-Term Cooperation

It has been said before that a protracted war requires a long-term united front, and this is the proceeding point for all policies. Therefore, Communist Party members must keep in mind this long-term nature in their work and in their relationships with friendly parties. He should carry out with determination all those that are beneficial to this long-term cooperation, and should absolutely refrain from doing those that will be harmful to it.

Herein occurs the problem of mutual aid and mutual concession among the various parties. With regard to mutual aid, for example, the various parties must develop and consolidate. Any party, besides attending to its own expansion and consolidation, should also adopt an approving attitude toward the development and consolidation of a friendly party. What kind of attitude should a Communist Party member adopt toward the expansion and consolidation of the Kuomintang? In a word, approve. The reason is that the expansion and consolidation of the Kuomintang will be beneficial to the war against Japan and to the entire nation. Thus, it is also beneficial to the working people and the Communist Party. I have discussed this before.

The Kuomintang is presently organizing the Three People's Principles Youth League. What kind of attitude should a Communist Party member adopt? Without doubt he should adopt an attitude of approval. We hope that the Youth League will develop massively. If the Youth League is carried out in accordance

with Chiang Kai-shek's declaration, there is a bright future for its development. Because we approve and support it, we hope that revisions will be made in certain items of the methods presently implemented in the League. Otherwise a good cause will not bring forth good results. The Three People's Principles Youth League should become a united organization for the broad masses of youths and people of China to unite and save the nation. It should absorb various parties and factions, youths of various circles, and individual young men's and youth organizations to become a massive group in which the entire generation of youths will collectively receive national revolutionary education and training. Therefore, it should be organizationally democratized, and the spirit of initiative and consciousness of the organization members should be given play politically to rouse the enthusiasm of the masses of youths. This is our attitude and our proposals to the Three People's Principles Youth League.

Mutual aid is not mutual despoilation, benefiting oneself from another's loss. As an individual it is morally wrong, and it is even more so with regard to national morals. Therefore, unreasonable frictions, even to the extent of arresting and killing people, just cannot be done. Communist Party members absolutely should not treat friendly parties in this manner, but should be treated in this manner, we definitely will not let it go at that. All unreasonable matters must be treated sternly, and this is the correct way to treat others and oneself. Mutual counselling is a virtue among friends, and it is also an attitude that should be promoted among the political parties.

What kind of mutual concessions are there to be made in the United Front? There are such concessions. We had made political concessions, stopping the confiscation of land, reorganizing the Red Army, changing the system of the Soviet areas. This is a type of political concession, and a necessary measure to establish the United Front and unite the people of the nation to fight the enemy together. Our friendly Party has also made concessions by admitting the legal status of the Communist Party, etc. The policy of mutual concession for uniting against the enemy and for long-term cooperation is a very good and correct one. It is only the politically confused, or those with covert ideas, will say that the Communist Party has surrendered to the Kuomintang, or vice versa.

We now again advocate that all the parties in the United Front should not enroll members of the other parties, organize branch parties, and engage in secret activities. We hold that such a policy is necessary. Of course, today is different from the past. In the civil war of the past, besides open warfare between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, secret methods were used on both sides to sabotage the activities of the other side. After cooperation, there naturally should not be motives and actions for sabotaging each other. But the method of secretly recruiting party members from the other's ranks to form party branches should also stop so that both sides will be assured. Only thus can it become compatible with the objective of long-term cooperation in a protracted war. We officially announce to the comrades of the Kuomintang that we have stopped our activities to recruit party members

from your ranks to organize party branches. Regardless of what kind of common organizational form is adopted for the United Front, we will abide by our decision. But at the same time, we hope you will reciprocate. After such an agreement has been arrived at, and a lower-level party member should renege, then the higher level of the renegade should be responsible for handling this matter.

Besides, when comrades of both sides meet, the attitude to be adopted should be one of friendliness, respect, and consultation, and not one of arrogance, contempt, and arbitrariness in order to improve mutual relationships, and this is also necessary.

Communist Party members should first put into effect all that we have said, regardless of whether some of the personnel on the other side have not applied the same policy, method, and attitude in treating us. We shall still do it this way, and, in the long run, some of those who are not clear about this will come around to an understanding.

A Communist Party member should adhere to his own standpoint in matters concerning the nation and the people, and march toward the direction of defeating the Japanese and constructing a new China without the slightest deviation. Whoever betrays this standpoint and this direction will lose his qualifications to be a Communist Party member. But the Communist Party member must have the spirit of mutual aid and mutual concession. They must have the spirit of respecting friendly parties and to resolve problems through friendly, consultative attitude. Wherever there are comrades of friendly parties present, they should be consulted to resolve related matters, and it must not be done arbitrarily. Without such a spirit there would be no consolidated unified unity, and the objective of defeating the enemy and constructing a new China, and the so-called enterprises for the nation and for the people cannot be attained. Therefore, the necessary policy of mutual concession absolutely must not be translated into negativism. Not only is mutual aid activism, but so is mutual concession, because necessary concessions is an indispensable condition to consolidating the cooperation of the two parties to attain even better unity and greater progress.

#### 7. On the Problem of a Democratic Republic

Although our party, in September 1936, announced the resolution on constructing a democratic republic, and comrades of the Central Committee have explained this question, there are many outside our circle who do not understand our proposals. This is a problem concerned with the future of the war of resistance. What will be the result of the war of resistance? With regard to the so-called war of resistance and national construction, what kind of a nation should be established in accordance with the Communist Party's ideas? This is a problem that is with us, and to explain it once more will be beneficial to the consolidation of the confidence of various parties and factions in the long-term cooperation.

What kind of a nation should be established? The answer in a word is the establishment of a republic based upon the Three People's Principles. The democratic republic as we called it is the republic of the Three People's Principles and its nature is that of the Three People's Principles. According to Dr. Sun Yat-sen, it is one that "seeks equal status internationally, an equal political status, and equality in the economic status." First, it is a country of nationalism. It is an independent nation and will not be subjected to any interference from any country and, at the same time, it will not interfere with any foreign nations. That is to say that the original semi-colonial status of China has been changed, and it has become independent. At the same time, regardless of how powerful it becomes, it absolutely will not turn itself into an imperialist country, but have peaceful intercourse and co-exist in friendship in the spirit of equality with all the friendly countries that respect China's independence. Equal rights will be given to the various nationalities in the country and, under the principle of their own volition, to unite and establish a unified government. Second, this country will be a nation based upon the rights of the people. The people in the country will all have equal political status, officials at various grades will be elected by the people, and the political system will be that of democratic centralization. National and local assemblies of people's representatives will be established, and citizens over the age of 18, with the exception of criminals, will all have the right to elect and be elected, regardless of class, sex, nationalities, beliefs, and education. The nation will give the people the freedom of speech, publications, gathering, association, beliefs, residence and change of residence, and to protect them politically and materially. Third, it is a country based upon the people's livelihood. It does not deny the system of private ownership, but it requires that workers will have jobs and their working conditions are to be improved. Farmers will have land to cultivate, and excessive taxation and exorbitant rentals and usurious interest rates are to be abolished. The students will be able to continue with their education, but it also guarantees that the poor will be able to attend school. The other fields will be occupied with tasks and they can give full rein to their geniuses. In short, it is to enable every one to have clothing and food, schooling and jobs. The democratic republic we envisaged is precisely such a nation, a China truly based upon the Three People's Principles. It is not a Soviet, nor is it socialism.

With whom must we struggle to transform China into such a country? We must struggle against Japanese imperialism. Japanese imperialism deprived us of our independence, and we must get it back from them. Japanese imperialism considered us as slaves, and we must demand from them our freedom. Japanese imperialism brought hunger and cold upon us, and we must demand food from them. How are these to be done? Demand it at gunpoint. In brief, driving away Japanese imperialism will give us an independent, free, and prosperous new China based upon the Three People's Principles.

## VI. China's War Against Aggression and the Anti-Fascist Movement of the World

### 1. China Cannot Be Separated From the World

China is closely bound to the world, and the Sino-Japanese war is part of the world war. The victory of China's war of resistance against Japan cannot be isolated from the rest of the world. In the new situation of the war of resistance it is possible that part of the foreign aid will decrease, thereby making China's self-reliance efforts even more significant. China should, at all times, rely upon self-reliance as the basic standpoint. But China is not, and cannot be, isolated. The fact of China's close ties with the world is also our standpoint, and should be our standpoint. We are not and cannot have a closed-door policy. China could not do this a long time ago, and now an imperialism of a world-wide nature has penetrated into China with war. All Chinese are concerned about China's relation with the world, especially the current changes in the situation in Europe. Therefore, it will be a significant thing to analyze the current international situation.

### 2. World War II To Carve Up the World Again Has Already Begun

The basic nature of capitalist imperialism is not only in contradiction with its own people, but it is also in contradiction with colonial and semi-colonial countries, with socialist countries, and between the various imperialist countries. The most intense expression of this last type of contradiction was in the world war of 20 years ago. The result of that war between two groups of imperialist countries created a new international situation. The new development of the world's politics and economy after the war resulted in the world again approaching a new great war. The aggression of Japan against the four eastern provinces in the Orient and the coming on stage of Hitler launched the new world war to re-divide the world. It is quite true that "fascism is war." Under this situation, Japan, Germany, and Italy, on the one hand, organized an aggression front to carry out large-scale aggression, and, on the other hand, the various democratic countries prepared for war in order to defend the benefits they already hold and in the name of preserving peace. But up to now, they are still unwilling to use actual force to stop the aggressors, especially the British policy of compromise, in actuality, is helping the aggressors. Under such circumstances, China's four eastern provinces were the first to be sacrificed and, subsequently, Abyssinia was lost to the Italians. In Spain it infused the rebel army with vigor, China was subjected to a new massive aggression by Japan, and, recently, Austria and Czechoslovakia were sacrificed to Hitler. Six hundred million people of the world are in a state of war, and its sphere covers the three continents of Asia, Africa, and Europe. This is the current situation of the new world war.

### 3. The Characteristics of the Current World War

Due to the determination of Japan, Germany, and Italy to commit aggression on the one hand, and the unwillingness of the various democratic to use their

power to restrain them on the other--especially with regard to the compromise policy of the British--there is a difference in characteristics displayed by the current situation of the new world from that of the World War I. This characteristic is the aggression of countries in between first, and the adoption of various different forms of war. China, Abyssinia, Austria, and Czechoslovakia are all semi-independent or small countries, and Japan, Germany, and Italy selected them first for swallowing up. In launching their aggression against these in-between countries, the aggressors adopted three specific forms of warfare. The first kind is the war launched by Japan against China, and by Italy against Abyssinia. These are large-scale wars conducted openly but carried out without a formal declaration of war, and it opens up a new era in the history of wars. The objective in adopting this policy of undeclared war is to take advantage of the unwillingness of the various democratic countries to restrain them--especially Britain's policy of compromise--to temporarily avoid coming into direct conflict with them and facilitate their moves to first seize the in-between countries. The second type is the form of aggression adopted by Germany and Italy against Spain. They adopted the method of giving assistance to the rebel army. This is but a replay of an old method abundantly found in history. The third type is Hitler's aggression in Austria and Czechoslovakia. On the surface there is no war (no actual fighting), but the essence of war is there. A powerful force of troops was moved in to occupy all of Austria and part of Czechoslovakia and to place the rest of Czechoslovakia under its rule. This is a most ingenious method of seizing another country without fighting.

The utilization of these three forms of war, on the one hand, is because the strength of the aggressor countries themselves is not adequate and is temporarily unable to engage the various big countries in direct warfare. Therefore, this ingenious method was adopted in an attempt to first strengthen themselves and, at the same time, to weaken the various big countries and then engage them in war. On the other hand, because of the unwillingness of the various democratic countries to restrain the aggressors, and specifically as a result of Britain's cowardly policy of compromise, it, in reality, aided the enemy and it made it easy for them to commit aggression against the countries in the middle.

#### 4. Britain's Policy of Compromise Will Lead the Various Fascist Countries To Launch a War on an Even Greater Scale

The conservative cabinet of Britain headed by Chamberlain is carrying out step by step the so-called policy of cooperation among the four powers. After the Munich agreement it is possible that the political situation in Europe will take a turn for the worse. The major part of Britain's conservative party's policy, in principle, has all along rejected the Soviet Union and sought compromise with Germany and Italy. Because of its fear of the Soviet Union becoming strong, of becoming involved in a war too early, of the people's movements in its own country and the movement for independence in the colonies, it has very early decided to sacrifice Spain, Austria, and Czechoslovakia and formed its plan to reject the Soviet Union and seek compromise with Germany and Italy. In the past, it was not successful because of the

division within the conservative party, the active policy of the popular front in France, and the censure received domestically and from abroad. But now, they took advantage of the anti-war psychology of the British and European people, and the rightist tendency of (Flandin's party of France to set up the Munich agreement under the threat of Hitler. This agreement is the result of Britain's policy of compromise, and if it does not change its policy it definitely will induce the various fascist countries to mount an even more massive war of adventurism. Although it is still possible that, for the time being, war will not break out among the big countries, and temporarily it will be limited to the continuation of aggression of the countries in the middle, but, in the end, it will be inevitable that the various big countries will be dragged into a war of unprecedented ruthlessness. This will be a future certainty. The inevitable result of Chamberlain's policy will be like "lifting a lock only to drop it on one's own toes."

#### 5. The Majority of Mankind in the World Are on the Move to Mobilization

With respect to the various capitalist countries, they have come to a dead end because of the economic crisis, the war involving 600 million people has its impact on the whole world, and a new and even more massive war threatens mankind. All is bright and well with the socialist countries, and they are advanced and strong. Under the comparison of these two opposite things, the majority of the people throughout the world are gradually finding the direction how to defend and liberate themselves, and they are uniting and preparing for war on an unprecedented massive scale and intensity. World War I, the growing power of the socialist countries in the past 20 years, the weakening of the capitalist countries, the war of aggression waged by the fascist countries in the past 6 or 7 years, China's glorious war of resistance against Japan, the people's war of Spain, and the compromise policy of Chamberlain have taught the people of the world and of Britain and France to understand that the only way out is to organize and put up a struggle. There can be a way out only by uniting as one all mankind in the world who seek liberation, and the formation of a united front of the people of the world and all oppressed nationalities. The glorious process of wakening the consciousness of the people throughout the world, their organization and struggle, and the formation of the united front is progressing in its development, but it will require arduous efforts before it can be completed. The future of the fascist threat of war and Chamberlain's policy of compromise is certain to meet with massive opposition in the end, and it is also an inevitable result of the fascist war and Chamberlain's policy.

#### 6. The Coordination of China's War Against Aggression and the Anti-Fascist World Movement

It is common knowledge that in the past the various democratic countries all gave assistance to China in varying degrees, mainly in the sympathy expressed by their people for China. The aid from the Soviet Union was even more positive. Now, because of the deeper penetration of the Japanese offensive, it has intensified the contradictions between Japan and Britain, the United States, France, and the Soviet Union. Although it is possible that Britain

may use its policy of compromise in the West and apply it to the Orient, and compromise to a certain degree with Japan in the hope of preserving some of its commercial enterprises in the occupied areas, and in dreaming to lessen Japan's threat to southeast Asia, it will find that a basic compromise will be difficult. At least for the time being it will be difficult because of Japan's policy to solely occupy China. Under current concrete conditions, there are differences of a certain degree between the problems of the East and that of the West. The deeper penetration of Japan's offensive against China has further intensified the contradiction between Japan and the United States. The friendship between China and the Soviet Union has grown, and there is the possibility of increased friendship between China, the United States, and the Soviet Union. But first of all, we must not forget the distinction between the capitalist and socialist countries, secondly, the distinction between a capitalist government and its people, and, thirdly, we must keep in mind even more firmly the distinction between the present and the future. We must not place too great a hope on the former, but should exert ourselves to gain all possible aid from the former. To a certain degree it is not only possible but also practical. But to maintain too high a hope is not suitable.

The coordination between China's liberation movement and foreign aid is mainly the coordination in the future with progressive countries and the world-wide massive anti-fascist movement of the people, and it should be based principally upon the policy of self-reliance and at the same time, not to slacken our efforts to obtain foreign aid.

#### VII. The Communist Party's Position in the National War

(This chapter's contents are similar to another essay--pp 241-264--and it is deleted here in order to avoid repetition.)

#### VIII. The Convening of the Party's Seventh National Congress

I will now talk about the last problem, the problem of convening the Seventh Congress

Comrades, the National Congress of our Party has not been convened since the sixth one was held in 1928. Due to circumstances, it has been 10 years since we held a congress. Last December, the political bureau meeting decided to make preparations for convening the Seventh Congress. Due to incompleteness of the preparatory work it will be difficult to hold it this year. This enlarged general membership meeting should discuss the question of stepping up the preparatory work and decide on convening the congress in the near future. The political significance of this congress will be very important. It will sum up past experiences, mainly that of the war of resistance throughout the nation and the Anti-Japanese National United Front. It will discuss the political situations domestically and internationally. It will discuss how to further unite the entire nation, unite the Kuomintang, the Communist Party, and other parties and factions, and further consolidate and expand the Anti-Japanese National United Front. Policy, methods, and plans on how to win

final victory in the war of resistance in the course of a protracted war and long-term cooperation will also be discussed. We must discuss how to mobilize the working class and laboring people throughout the nation to take an even more active part in the war of resistance. How the Party can further its own unity and strengthen itself under the new situation should also be discussed so as to consolidate the relationship between itself and the Kuomintang and as well as the other parties and factions and the people throughout the nation in order to smoothly implement the general policy of the Anti-Japanese National United Front.

Besides these problems of politics and organizations, the Seventh National Congress should elect a new Central Committee, selecting many of the comrades in the entire Party with the most prestige and authority to become part of the committee in order to strengthen the leadership of the entire Party's work. Comrades, since this congress has such great significance, all comrades, upon returning to their various areas to work after the closing of the sixth enlarged meeting of the general membership of the Party, should, on the basis of expanding and consolidating the Party's foundation carry out elections in a timely manner and in accordance with democratic methods so as to enable the best cadres who have the greatest trust and confidence of the Party members to have the opportunity to be elected as representatives to the congress, thereby bringing together under one roof the best representatives to the Seventh National Congress and ensure that the congress will be a success. We believe that this National Congress will definitely be successful. It will provide the most serious and powerful reply to the Japanese imperialist's war of aggression, make imperialist Japan tremble in fear in the face of our National Congress, and throw them back into the eastern sea. The Chinese nation will be victorious.

My report ends here.

Chia Fang, Vol 7, 25 November 1938  
HSIN HUA DAILY (Chungking) December 1938

On the New Stage--Fourth series in the theory of leadership in the Chinese revolutionary war--The New Democracy Publishing House (Hong Kong) April 1948

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## DIALECTIC MATERIALISM (LECTURE OUTLINE)

1938

[Text] Chapter I Idealism and Materialism

This chapter discusses the following problems:

- (1) Two opposing camps of philosophy;
- (2) Distinction between idealism and materialism;
- (3) Origin and development of idealism; and
- (4) Origin and development of materialism.

### (1) Two Opposing Camps of Philosophy

The entire history of philosophy is the history of struggle and development of idealism and materialism, the two opposing schools of philosophy. All philosophical thoughts and factions are variations of these two basic schools.

All philosophical theories are created by people belonging to a definite social class. The consciousness of these people is historically determined by a definite social life. All philosophical theories express the need of a definite social class and reflect the level of development of social productive force and the historical stage of man's knowledge of nature. The fate of a philosophy is determined by the degree it satisfies the need of society.

The social origin of idealism and materialism lies in the social structure of class contradictions. The original idealism was the product of ignorance of the primitive barbarian man. Later, as productive forces developed, scientific knowledge also developed. Consequently, idealism should have declined and been replaced by materialism. However, from antiquity to modern times, idealism has not declined. On the contrary, it has developed further and become a close rival of materialism. The reason is that society is divided into classes. On the one hand, the oppressing class cannot but develop and consolidate its idealism for its own interest. On the other hand, the oppressed class, similarly, cannot but develop and consolidate

its materialism for its own interest. Both idealism and materialism exist as tools of class struggle, and the war between the two schools of philosophy will continue until the elimination of classes. In its process of development, idealism represents the ideology of the exploiting class and has a reactionary function. Materialism is the world outlook of the revolutionary class. In a class society, materialism grows and develops continuously in its struggle against the reactionary philosophy--idealism. For this reason the struggle between idealism and materialism always reflects the struggle between the interest of the reactionary class and that of the revolutionary class. No matter whether a philosopher is conscious of it or not, his philosophic inclination is always influenced by the political orientation of the class to which he belongs. Any inclination in philosophy always directly or indirectly supports the basic political interest of the class the philosopher belongs. In this sense, the implementation of a certain philosophical inclination is a special form of the policy of the class the philosopher belongs.

The special characteristic of the Marxist philosophy, dialectic materialism, is to explain clearly the class attributes of all social consciousness (including philosophy). It openly declares its proletarian nature, wages a resolute struggle against idealism of the capitalist class, and subordinates its function to the general task of overthrowing the capitalist institution, establishing proletarian dictatorship, and building socialism. In the present stage in China, the mission of philosophy is subordinated to the general task of overthrowing imperialism and semi-feudalism, thoroughly implementing the democracy of the bourgeois class, establishing a brand new Chinese Democratic Republic, and preparing to transform the present society to a socialist and Communist society with peaceful means. Philosophical theories and political practices should be closely related.

## (2) Distinction Between Idealism and Materialism

Where is the basic difference between idealism and materialism? It lies in the opposite answers given by the two schools in regard to the basic problem of philosophy, that is, the problem of the relationship between spirit and matter (the problem of the relationship between consciousness and existence). Idealism considers spirit (consciousness, concept, and subject) as the origin of everything in the world and matter (natural or social object) as subordinate to spirit. Materialism holds that matter exists independent of spirit, while spirit is only subordinate to matter. From the opposite answers to this basic problem, diversified opinions arise on all other problems.

From the viewpoint of idealism, the world is probably a synthesis of our different kinds of senses, or it is the spiritual process created by our or worldly rationality. The external material world is viewed as an illusion, or an external shell of spiritual elements. Human knowledge is viewed as subjective and a product of spirit.

Conversely, materialism holds that the unity of universe lies in its material property. Spirit (consciousness) is one of the properties of

matter. It occurs only when matter develops to a definite stage. Nature, matter and the objective world exist outside of spirit and independent of spirit. Human knowledge is a reflection of the objective world.

### (3) Origin of Idealism and Its Development

Idealism considers that matter is a product of spirit. It turns the real world upside down. What is the origin of this philosophy, and where is the source of its development?

As mentioned before, idealism occurred as a product of the ignorance of primitive man, but after the development of production the primary condition that enabled idealism to become a philosophical thought was the separation of physical and mental labor. As a result of the development of social productivity, division of labor occurred in society. Further development of division of labor produced people who devoted themselves exclusively to mental labor. At a time when social productivity was relatively low, the separation of physical and mental labor was not complete. But after the emergence of classes and private property, when exploitation became the foundation for the existence of the dominating class, great changes began. Mental labor became a special privilege of the dominating class, while physical labor became the fate of the oppressed class. The dominating class began to examine their own relationship with the oppressed class in a topsy-turvy way. They thought that it was not the laborers who provided them with materials for living. Instead, they thought, it was they who provided the laborers with materials for living. For this reason, they despised physical labor and generated the viewpoints of idealism. Eliminating the distinction between physical and material labor is one of the conditions for eliminating the philosophy of idealism.

The social origin which enabled the philosophy of idealism to develop is mainly the fact that this philosophy consciously expresses the interest of the exploiting class. The superiority of the idealist philosophy in all cultural realms should be explained by this fact. If the exploiting class did not exist, idealism would lose its social origin. The final extinction of the philosophy of idealism will come only after the elimination of classes and the establishment of a Communist society.

We must look for the origin that accounts for the development and intensification of idealism and its ability to become a rival of materialism in the process of man's knowledge. When man uses concept in thinking, there is a possibility for him to slip into idealism. When man thinks, he cannot but use concepts. This will apt to make our knowledge split into two aspects. In one aspect are the individual and special things and events. In another aspect are the concepts of a general nature (such as this judgment: "Yenan is a city.") The specific and the general are originally related and inseparable. When they are detached, they are separated from the objective truth. The objective truth demonstrates the consistency between the general and the specific. Without the specific, the general does not exist.

Without the general, there can be no specific. If we separate the general from the specific, then the general is considered the objective body and the specific is considered only a form of general existence. This is the method used by all idealists. They use consciousness, spirit, and concept to replace the objective substance which exists independent of man's consciousness. With this as a starting point, the idealists stress the dynamic nature of human consciousness in social practice. They are unable to point out the truth of materialism that consciousness is limited by matter. Instead, they say that only consciousness is dynamic, while matter is nothing but a collective body of immobile things. Driven by class motivations, the idealists use all methods to exaggerate the dynamism of consciousness and develop it one-sidedly to such an extent that it is infinitely expanded in the mind to become a dominating thing. Matter is covered up and made subordinate to consciousness. They affirm this artificially expanded thing as the general outlook of the universe, and even worship it as an idol or demigod. Idealist economics excessively exaggerate the immaterial side of exchange, and elevates the status of the principle of supply and demand to that of the fundamental law of capitalism. Many people saw the dynamic function of science in social life, but did not know that this function is ruled and limited by a definite social production relationship. They therefore came to the conclusion that science is the motive force of society. Idealist historians regard heroes as the creators of history. Idealist politicians consider politics as an omnipotent thing. Idealist militarists practice the principle of fighting-to-the-death in war. Idealist revolutionaries advocate Blanquism. All these are exaggerations of subjective dynamism. Our thinking cannot reflect the object all at once as a whole. It is only an infinite, colorful, vivid and dialectic process of knowing things close to their reality. Based on this characteristic of human thinking, the idealists exaggerate certain individual aspects of this process. Unable to correctly reflect this process, they distort it. Lenin said: "Human knowledge is not developed along a straight line, but along a curve. Any section of this curve can become an isolated and integral section of straight line. This section of straight line can possibly lead you to confusion. Linearity and one-sidedness are 'not seeing the forest for the trees'; obstinacy, subjectivism, and subjective blindness--all these are the origins of idealist epistemology." "Idealism one-sidedly exaggerates one fragment or one aspect of the process of cognizance into a mysterious absolute thing divorced from matter and divorced from nature. It is correct to say that idealism is religious dogma."

Pre-Marxist materialism (mechanical materialism) did not emphasize the dynamism of thinking in cognizance. It only gave thinking a passive function, and regarded thinking as a mirror to reflect nature. Mechanical materialism took a violent attitude toward idealism without paying attention to the origin of idealist epistemology. Therefore, mechanical materialism could not prevail over idealism. Only dialectic materialism correctly points out the dynamic nature of thinking and, at the same time, points out that thinking is limited by matter. It points out that thinking occurs in the process of social practice and also dynamically directs practice. Only this type of dialectical theory of "unity between knowledge and practice" can thoroughly prevail over idealism.

#### (4) Origin of Materialism and Its Development

Recognition of the existence of external matter independent of consciousness is the foundation of materialism. This foundation is acquired by man through practice, the practice of labor and production. The practice of class struggle and the practice of scientific experimentation enabled man to depart from superstition and fantasy (idealism), to gradually recognize the nature of the world, and to reach materialism.

Primitive man, who could only use simple tools and yielded to the force of nature, was unable to explain the changes surrounding him. Therefore, he asked help from the spirit. This is the origin of religion and idealism.

In the long processes of production, man came in contact with nature surrounding him, acted on nature, changed nature, and secured things for clothing, food and shelter in order to make nature more suited to the interest of man. This convinced man that matter does objectively exist.

In social life, relationships and influence occur between one man and another. In class society, class struggle went on. The oppressed class weighed the situation, estimated their strength and made plans. When their struggle succeeded, they firmly believed that their opinion was not a product of imagination, but a reflection of the material world which objectively exists. When the oppressed class failed in their struggle because of the adoption of wrong plans, and when they succeeded in their struggle after changing their plans, they began to understand that they could reach their goal only if their subjective plans were based on a correct knowledge of the material property and rules of the objective world.

The history of science proved to man the material property and regularity of the world, and made him realize the uselessness of the fantasy of religion and idealism, and finally accept the conclusion of materialism.

In short, in the long history of practice--the history of human struggle against nature, the history of class struggle, and the history of science--man, for the necessity of living and struggle, thought about the reality of material and its rules, proved the correctness of the philosophy of materialism, and found the ideological tool for his own struggle--the philosophy of materialism. As social production developed to a higher and higher degree, class struggle became more and more developed; scientific knowledge further exposed the "secrets" of nature, the philosophy of materialism became more and more developed and consolidated; gradually became able to liberate himself from the dual oppression of nature and society. When it was necessary for the bourgeois class to struggle against the feudal class and before the proletariat had become a threat, the bourgeoisie also found and used materialism as a tool in their own struggle, and believed at one time that the things and events surrounding them were products of matter rather than products of spirit. Not until they themselves became rulers and the struggle of the proletariat threatened their position did they give up this "useless" tool, and pick up another tool--the philosophy of idealism.

The proletarian class, the grave diggers for capitalism, is materialist by nature. But, due to the fact that the proletarian class is the most advanced class in history, the materialism of the proletarian class is different from the materialism of the capitalist class. The former is more thorough and more profound, characterized only by dialectics and not by mechanism. The proletarian class absorbed the fruits of all practices in human history and, through their practice and their spokesmen and leaders--Marx and Engels--created dialectic materialism. It maintains not only that matter exists independent of and separated from human consciousness, but also that matter is changing. It thus becomes a completely systematic and totally new world outlook and methodology. This is the philosophy of Marxism.

## Chapter II Dialectic Materialism

This chapter discusses the following problems:

- (1) Dialectic materialism as a weapon of proletarian revolution;
- (2) Relationship between the heritage of old philosophy and dialectic materialism;
- (3) Consistency of outlook of the universe and methodology in dialectic materialism;
- (4) The problem of object in philosophy;
- (5) Theory of matter;
- (6) Theory of movement;
- (7) Theory of time and space;
- (8) Theory of consciousness;
- (9) Theory of reflection;
- (10) Theory of truth; and
- (11) Theory of practice.

The following is a brief discussion of our viewpoints on these problems.

### (1) Dialectic Materialism as a Weapon of Proletarian Revolution

This problem has already been discussed in Chapter I. We shall talk about it briefly again.

Dialectic materialism represents the universal view of the proletarian class. The proletarian class uses dialectic materialism as its spiritual weapon in

its struggle and as its philosophical basis for its various opinions. Only when we view the world from the proletarian standpoint can we correctly and completely grasp dialectic materialism. Only when we start from this viewpoint can the real world be truly and objectively known. This is due to, in one respect, the fact that the proletarian class is the most advanced and most revolutionary class; and in another respect, the fact that dialectic materialism is the most correct and most revolutionary outlook of the universe and methodology in which a highly precise scientific characteristic is closely associated with a thorough and uncompromising revolutionary characteristic.

The proletarian class in China has now shouldered the historical responsibility of carrying the democratic revolution of the bourgeois class. It must adopt dialectic materialism as its spiritual weapon. If dialectic materialism is accepted by the proletarian class, the Communist Party, and all revolutionary elements who are willing to take a stand on the side of the vast proletarian class, they will have the most correct and the most revolutionary universal view and methodology, and they will be able to correctly understand the development and changes of the revolutionary movement correctly, propose correct revolutionary tasks, unite with their allies, defeat reactionary theories, take correct actions, avoid mistakes in their work, and reach the goal of liberating and rebuilding China. Dialectic materialism is especially a required subject of study for those cadres who direct revolutionary movements because subjectivism and mechanism, the two erroneous theories and working methods, often lead cadres into wrong actions in violation of Marxism, and into wrong ways in revolutionary movements. In order to avoid and to correct this shortcoming, it is necessary for cadres to study dialectic materialism self-consciously, and rearm their minds.

## (2) Relationship Between the Heritage of the Old Philosophy and Dialectic Materialism

Modern materialism is not a simple successor to the various old schools of philosophy. It was born and developed in the struggle against the dominant philosophy of the past and in the struggle of freeing science from idealism and myth. The Marxist philosophy, dialectic materialism, has not only inherited the best product of idealism, the fruits of Hegelian philosophy, but also overcome the idealism of that school of philosophy and materialistically transformed Hegel's dialectics. Marxism is not only the continuation and consummation of all the past development of materialism, but also an opponent of the narrowness of all the old schools of materialism, that is, the mechanical and intuitive materialism (mainly French materialism and Feuerbach materialism). Marxist philosophy, dialectic materialism, took over the scientific heritage of the past culture and at the same time gave it a revolutionary transformation to become the most correct, the most revolutionary, and the most complete philosophical science unprecedented in history.

After the 4 May 1919 Movement, as the proletarian class of China consciously walked onto the political stage, and as the nation's scientific standard continued to rise, a Marxist philosophy movement developed. However, during

the initial stage of China's materialist movement our understanding about dialectics was inadequate. As a result, the capitalist mechanical materialism and the Deborin school's subjectivism predominated. When the revolution of 1927 failed, our understanding of Marxism-Leninism improved, and materialist dialectic thinking gradually developed. Recently, due to the seriousness of national and social crises and due to the purge of philosophy in the Soviet Union, a broad movement of dialectic materialism began among the thinkers in China.

Due to the backwardness of Chinese society, the current dialectic materialism thinking in China is not a continuation or transformation of China's own philosophical heritage. It came, rather, from learning Marxism-Leninism. In order that dialectic materialism will take root and advance in China and will definitely guide the Chinese revolution toward an ultimate triumph, it is necessary to struggle against all existing obsolete philosophy, to raise a banner of criticism on the ideological front all over the country, and thereby to liquidate the philosophical heritage of ancient China.

### (3) Consistency of the Outlook of the Universe and Methodology in Dialectic Materialism

Dialectic materialism is the proletarian outlook of the universe, and at the same time it is also the method used by the proletarian class to know the surrounding world as well as the method for revolutionary action. It is a unity of the outlook of the universe and methodology. The idealist Marxist revisionists think that the substance of dialectic materialism lies in its "method." They sever method from the general philosophical outlook of the universe, and sever dialectics from materialism. They don't understand Marxist methodology--dialectics--which is not like Hegelian idealist dialectics, but materialist dialectics. Marxist methodology can never be separated from Marxist outlook of the universe. On the other hand, mechanical materialism not only views Marxist philosophy as a general philosophical outlook of the universe without its dialectics, but also regards this kind of outlook as the conclusion of mechanical natural science. They do not understand that Marxist materialism is not simple materialism, but dialectic materialism. These two separated views of Marxist philosophy are wrong. Dialectic materialism is a unity of outlook of the universe and methodology.

### (4) The Problem of the Object of Dialectic Materialism--What Does Materialist Dialectics Study?

Lenin considered materialist dialectics (as a Marxist philosophy) as a study of the laws of development of the objective world, as well as a study of the laws of development of cognizance (which reflects the objective world through various categories in dialectics). He said that logic is not an external formal study of thinking; it is rather a study concerning the law of development of all material, natural and spiritual things. In other words, logic is the total, summation, and conclusion of human knowledge about the world. Although Lenin emphasized the significance of materialist dialectics as a

general scientific methodology, he did this because dialectics is the conclusion drawn from the history of our cognizance about the world. Hence he said: "Dialectics is the history of cognizance."

The above is Lenin's definition of materialist dialectics as a science and its objectives. What he means is as follows: First, just as any other science, materialist dialectics has its object of study. The object is the most general laws of development of nature, history, and human thinking. The task of materialist dialectics is not to think from our head the relationship between various phenomena, but to observe the relationship between the various phenomena from the phenomena themselves. This viewpoint of Lenin's is basically different from that of the members of the minority faction of the idealists who regard category (divorced in fact from specific science or specific knowledge) as the object of study of materialist dialectics. This is because of the fact that the members of the minority faction of idealists attempt to establish a philosophical system of categories isolated from the development of human knowledge about the reality of epistemology, history, social science and natural science. By so doing, they have in fact abandoned materialist dialectics. Second, the various branches of science (mathematics, mechanics, chemistry, physics, biology, economics and other natural sciences and social sciences) are for the study of the various aspects of the material world and its development. Therefore, the principles of the various sciences are narrowly limited by each specific realm of study. But materialist dialectics is not so. It summarizes, draws conclusions about, processes and generalizes all the valuable contents of all specific branches of science and other scientific knowledge of mankind. Thus, the concepts, judgments, and principles of materialist dialectics are extremely broad (including the most general laws of all sciences, and hence including the substance of the material world). In this respect, it is an outlook of the universe. On the other hand, materialist dialectics is the foundation of true scientific logic and epistemology liberated from all empty thinking, clericalism, and metaphysics. Therefore, it is also the only realistic objective methodology for the study of specific sciences. It is further clear why we say that materialist dialectics or dialectic materialism is the unity of the outlook of the universe and methodology. So the mistakes of those who distort and vulgarize Marxism and deny Marxism as a philosophy can be understood.

Concerning the problem of the object of philosophy, Marx, Engels and Lenin all opposed separating philosophy from reality or making philosophy something independent of substance. They pointed out the inevitability of philosophy growing out of actual life and based upon the analysis of actual life and actual relationships. They specially opposed using logical concepts and logic as the objects of study as practiced by the formalists and members of the minority faction of the idealists. Marx, Engels, and Lenin all interpreted materialist dialectics as a theory concerning development. Engels regarded materialist dialectics as "a theory discussing the general principle of development of nature, society and thinking." Lenin considered materialist dialectics as "the most multi-faceted, the richest and the most profound theory of development." They all considered "the formulas of all principles of

development offered by other schools of philosophy as narrow, without substance, and severed from the process of development of nature and society." (Quotation from Lenin) The reason by materialist dialectics is called the most multi-faceted, the richest, and the most profound theory of development is nothing but that it reflects the contradictions and the leaping nature in the process of natural and social changes in the most multi-faceted, the richest and the most profound way.

There is another problem to be resolved about the object of philosophy; that is, the consistency between dialectics and logic.

Lenin emphatically pointed out the identity among dialectics, logic, and epistemology, saying that this is "an extremely important problem." He said: "These three terms are superfluous. They indicated only one thing." He was fundamentally opposed to those Marxist revisionists who treat these three theories as entirely independent of one another.

Materialist dialectics is the only scientific epistemology, and the only scientific logic. It deals with the growth of our cognizance of the external world and the development of such cognizance; the transformation from not knowing to knowing and from not completely knowing to completely knowing; and reflection of the laws of development of nature and society which deepens enhances daily in the mind of mankind. This is the unity between materialist dialectics and epistemology. Materialist dialectics studies the most general laws of development of the objective world, and reflections of the most developed form of the objective world in our mind. This is how materialist dialectics studies the process of development of realistic things, and the laws of occurrence, disappearance and mutual transformation of phenomena. At the same time, it also studies the phenomena of the human mind which reflects the laws of development of the objective world. This is the unity of materialist dialectics and logic.

In order to understand the relationship between dialectics, logic, and epistemology thoroughly, we shall examine in the following how dialectics resolves the problem of mutual relationship between logic and history.

Engels said: "As far as the method of thinking of all schools of philosophy is concerned, the advantage of Hegel's method is its extremely rich sense of history. Although Hegel's form is abstract and idealistic, the development of his thinking parallels the development of world history. Moreover, history is in fact a verification of our thinking. History often proceeds rapidly in a complex manner. Because of this, if we obey history, we must not only pay attention to a lot of unimportant material, but also interrupt our train of thought. This is the only suitable method and this is the logical method. This logical method is still fundamentally the historical method except for the elimination of the form of history and its accidental characteristic." This viewpoint of "unity of logical development and historical development" was given full attention by Marx, Engels, and Lenin. "The category of logic is the simplification of the innumerable characteristics of external existence and activities." Category is a separated segment which helps us to know the links of different networks. "The activity of human practice is a repeated

application of human consciousness to various formulas of logic. Then, these formulas acquire the significance of an axiom. It takes thousands and millions of times of repeated practice for a theoretical formula to be stabilized in human consciousness. All these formulas have some perpetual prejudice because they are the results of thousands and millions times of practice before they take on the characteristics of axioms." The above sayings of Lenin point out the fact that the characteristics of materialist dialectical logic are not the same as those of formal logic, which looks upon principles and categories as empty things existing independently from contents and unrelated to contents. Materialist dialectical logic is also different from Hegelian logic. Unlike Hegelian logic which regarded category as concepts isolated from and independent of the material world, materialist dialectical logic treats concepts as manifestations of material movements reflected and transplanted to our mind, and then processed by our brain. Holding the view of unity between existence and thinking, Hegel treated the unity among dialectics, logic and epistemology in the same way as unity in idealism. On the contrary, in Marxist philosophy, the unity of dialectics, logic and epistemology is built on the foundation of materialism. Only if materialism is used to resolve the problem of the relationship between existence and thinking, and only if the viewpoint of the reflection theory is taken, can the problem of dialectics, logic, and epistemology be thoroughly resolved.

The best model of using dialectical materialism to resolve the problem of the mutual relationships between logical things and historical things is Karl Marx's "Capital." It discusses the historical development of capitalist society, and at the same time discusses the logical development of that society. What "Capital" analyzes is the dialectics of the development of various economic categories reflected by the growth, development, and extinction of capitalist society. The materialist solution of this problem is based upon using the materialist objective history as the foundation, and using concept and category as the reflection of this realistic history. The unity of logic and history of capitalism and the unity of logic and epistemology of capitalist society are illustriously expressed in "Capital." From "Capital," we can understand a little bit about the unity among dialectics, logic and epistemology.

The above concerns the problem of the object of dialectic materialism.

#### (5) Theory of Matter

Marxism took over and developed the line of materialism in philosophy. It correctly resolved the problem of the relationship between thinking and existence; that is, it thoroughly and materialistically pointed out the materialistic character of the world, the objective existence of matter, and the fact that matter is the origin of consciousness (or the reliance of consciousness on existence).

The acceptance of matter being the origin of consciousness is based on the premises of the materialistic character of the world and its objective existence. The first condition for one to belong to the camp of materialism

is his acceptance of the existence of the materialistic world independent of man's consciousness--that is, the world existed before the appearance of mankind, and it existed after the appearance of mankind. Acceptance of this point is the basic premises for any scientific study.

How can we prove this point? There are many proofs. Man is in contact with the external world at all the times, and must use cruel ways to deal with the oppression and resistance of the external world (nature and society). Man can and should overcome these oppressions and resistance. The human social practice demonstrated in the historical development of human society is the best proof. China does not doubt the objective existence of Japanese imperialism which invaded China, nor the objective existence of the Chinese people. The students of the Anti-Japanese Military and Political University also never doubted the objective existence of the university and the students themselves. These things are all material things which exist independent of and separate from our consciousness. All these are the basic viewpoints of materialism, or the philosophy of materialism.

The materialistic viewpoint in philosophy is different from the materialistic viewpoint in natural science. If we say materialistic viewpoint in philosophy is to point out the objective existence of matter, and that the so-called matter is the entire world which is separated from man's consciousness and exists independently (this world acts upon man's senses to cause man's feelings and to cause man to have reflection from feelings), then this statement is absolute, and will never change. The materialistic viewpoint in natural science concerns the study of the structure of matter, such as the former atomic theory and the current electronic theory. Such statements change with the advance of science and are relative.

To use dialectic materialism to distinguish the materialistic viewpoint in philosophy and that in natural science is a necessary condition for the implementation of the materialistic viewpoint in philosophy. This point has a great significance in the struggle with idealism and mechanical materialism.

On the bases of the theory of electrons, the materialists smashed the absurd theory about the extinction of matter. Those who held this absurd view did not know that the advancement of scientific knowledge concerning the structure of matter is sufficient proof of the correctness of the theory of matter in dialectic materialism. As a result of modern discoveries in natural science and the discovery of electron theory, it has been proven that certain material attributes exhibited in old material concepts (such as weight, hardness, impenetrability, inertia, etc.) exist only in certain material forms, and do not exist in other material forms. This fact breaks down the narrowness and one-sidedness of the old materialist view toward matter, and proves the correctness of dialectic materialism which accepts the materialistic characteristics and the objective existence of matter. The materialist view of dialectic materialism sees the unity of the material world from its multiple characteristics, i.e., the unity of matter's multiple characteristics. This type of concept of matter does not contradict at all the perpetual movement

or change from one from to another. Ether, electrons, atoms, molecules, crystalline cells, social phenomena, mental phenomena, etc., represent various stages of development of matter. They are temporary states in the history of the development of matter. Scientific studies bring about profound discoveries of all kinds of material states (the discovery of the multiple characteristics of matter), and these discoveries only enrich the contents of the concept of matter of dialectic materialism. How can there be any contradictions? It is necessary to make a distinction between the concept of matter in philosophy and that in natural science, because the former is broad and the latter narrow, but they are not contradictory. The broad concept of matter includes the narrow concept of matter.

The concept of matter of dialectic materialism does not recognize any non-material things in the world (independent and spiritual things). Matter exists permanently and universally in time and space. If we say that there is in this world a thing which "has always been so," or which "is so everywhere" (as far as its consistency is concerned), then that thing is the so-called objectively existing matter in philosophy. When consciousness is viewed from thorough materialism (that is from the viewpoint of materialist dialectics), it is nothing but a state of matter, a form of material movement, a special characteristic of the material brain, and that kind of special characteristic of the material brain reflected from matter outside of consciousness to consciousness. Thus, our distinction between matter and consciousness, and our setting up the two opposing each other are conditional. That is to say, the distinction is meaningful only in epistemology because consciousness or thought is only an attribute of matter (brain). Therefore, the opposition between cognizance and existence doesn't go beyond this. This type of opposition between the subject and the object has no meaning beyond the realm of epistemology. If cognizance is set up opposing matter outside the realm of epistemology, we are revolting against materialism. In this world there is only matter and its various manifestations. The subject itself is also matter. This is what is meant by the material attributes of the world (matter is perpetual and universal), the objective reality of matter, and matter is the origin of consciousness. In short, matter is everything in the world. We say "all belongs to Ssu-ma I," and "all belongs to matter." This is the principle of unity of the world.

The above is the concept of matter in dialectical materialism.

#### (6) Theory of Motion (Theory of Development)

The first basic principle of dialectic materialism is its acceptance of the material nature of the world, the objective reality of matter, and matter being the origin of consciousness. This unity theory of the world has been discussed in the aforementioned theory of matter.

The second basic principle of dialectic materialism is its theory of motion (or the theory of development). It acknowledges that motion is the form of material existence, i.e., the inner attributes of matter. Motion is an expression of the multiple attributes of matter. This is the theory of development of the world. A combination of the development theory of the world and

the aforementioned unity theory of the world forms the entire outlook of the universe of dialectic materialism. The world is nothing but an infinite development of the material world (or the material world is developing without limit).

The concept of motion of dialectic materialism will not permit (1) mental motion separated from matter, (2) mental matter separated from motion, or (3) simplification of material motion. The concept of motion is established after a resolute struggle with idealistic, metaphysical and mechanical viewpoints.

First of all, the theory of motion of dialectic materialism is opposed to idealism in philosophy and theism in religion. The basic characteristic of all idealism and theism is their denial of the material unity of the world. They imagine that the motion and development of the entire world are without matter, or there is no matter at the very beginning. It is, rather, the result of spiritual action or the power of God. The German idealist philosopher Hegel believed that the actual world was developed from the so-called "concept of the world." In China, believers of Chou I and Li Hsueh of the Sung and Ming Dynasties all expressed idealistic concepts of the development of the universe. The Christians say that God created the world. Buddhists and fetishists in China ascribe the development of everything in the universe to spiritual power. All these views separating human thinking from matter are incompatible with dialectic materialism. Not only idealists and clergymen, but all the materialists before Marx, and all the current anti-Marxist mechanical materialists maintain materialistic theory of motion when they talk about natural science. But when they talk about social phenomena, they no longer adhere to materialistic principles, and ascribe everything to spiritual reasons.

Dialectic materialism resolutely refutes all these erroneous concepts of motion, points out their limitations--the limitations of their class status and the limitation of scientific development, and builds its own concept of motion thoroughly on materialism from the standpoint of the proletarian class and based on the most developed scientific standard. First of all, the dialectic materialists points out that motion is the form of existence of matter, and is an inner characteristic of matter (not due to external force). It is just as impossible to imagine motion without matter as to imagine matter without motion. They set up a materialistic concept of motion sharply opposed to the idealist or theist concepts of motion.

If we observe matter isolated from motion, it will be a metaphysical theory of a stationary universe, or the theory of absolute equilibrium. Those who subscribe to this theory maintain that matter is unchanging, and that there is no such thing as development in matter. They believe that an absolute standstill is the general state of matter, or the primitive state of matter. Dialectic materialism firmly opposes this point of view. It believes that motion is the most common form of material existence, and an inner and inseparable attribute of matter. All static and equilibrium states have only relative meaning, while motion is absolute. Dialectic materialism acknowledges that all material may have the possibility of being in a stationary state or a state of equilibrium. It also believes that this is the most important

condition for distinguishing matter and, therefore, is also the most important condition for distinguishing life. (Engels) However, dialectic materialism believes that being in a stationary state or in a state of equilibrium is only one of the elements of motion, or a kind of special condition of motion. The mistake of observing matter without reference to motion lies in the exaggeration of the elements of standstill or equilibrium. These elements are wrongly used to cover up or to substitute for the entirety. A special condition of motion is generalized to become absolute. An ancient Chinese metaphysical thinker had a favorite saying: "Heaven does not change; reason does not change." His theory is one of stationary universe. Although the followers of this saying acknowledge the changes in universe and social phenomena, they deny these changes as changes of matter itself. In their eyes, the substance of the universe and society is forever unchanging. The main reason for their thinking is their class limitation. If the feudal landlord class acknowledges that the substance of the universe and society is moving and developing, it would be like theoretically declaring their own death sentence. The philosophy of all reactionary forces is always a motion-less philosophy. In view of the principle of development of the world, the revolutionary class and the people advocated for the transformation of this society and world. Their philosophy is dialectic materialism.

Moreover, dialectic materialism does not accept simplification of the concept of motion, or reduce all motion to one form--the form of mechanical motion. This is the characteristic of the old materialistic concept of motion. The old materialism (French materialism of the 17th and 18th century and the German Feuerbach materialism of the 19th century) accepted the permanent existence and permanent movement (unlimited movement) of matter, but it was confined to a metaphysical outlook of the universe. Not only that their social viewpoint reflected a viewpoint of idealist development, even in natural science they ascribed the unity of material world to a certain one-sided characteristic, or to one form of motion--mechanical motion. The cause of this type of motion is external force. It is a motion like that of a machine which is pushed by an external force. They do not explain matter of motion from internal causes and the multiple nature of relationships. They explain motion simply from external form they have discovered, or from external reasons. In this way, the multiple characteristics of the world are lost. They explain all motions in the world as a change in location and a decrease or increase in quantity. Motion is described as a phenomenon of matter being at one location during a certain moment of time and at another location during another moment. If there is a change, it is only a change in numerical increase or decrease. There is no change in characteristics and all changes are cyclical and will repeatedly produce the same result. Dialectic materialism is at odds with this. It considers motion not as simple displacement or cyclical motion. But as infinite varieties of matter. Motion is looked upon as transformation of matter from one form to another, the unification and motion of matter in the world. Engels said: "All high-level forms of motion are inevitably associated with the form of mechanical (external or molecular) motion. For example, if there is no change in heat or electricity, chemical reactions will be impossible. If there is no mechanical

(molecular), heat, electrical and chemical changes, organic life will be impossible. This, of course, cannot be denied. But if there exists some form of low-level motion, they cannot include the substance of major forms of motion under various conditions." These words are absolutely in conformity with reality. Even if we consider only the simple mechanical motions, we cannot explain them from the metaphysical viewpoint. We should know that all forms of motion are dialectical, even though their dialectical contents and their multi-faceted nature may be greatly different. Thus, mechanical motion is still dialectic motion. When we say that a body "is" at a certain location at a certain moment, that body is, in fact, "at" a certain location, and yet, at the same time, "not at" that certain location at that particular moment. The so-called "being" at a certain location and the so-called "immobile" state are but special situations of motion. The body is in fact in motion. Matter moves within a limited time and within a limited space. Matter is continuously overcoming the limitations in order to go out of fixed time and space to become an unceasing flow of motion. Mechanical motion is only one form of motion of matter. In the actual world, it does not exist absolutely independent, and it is always related to other forms of motion. From heat, chemical reaction, light, and electricity to organic and social phenomena, all of them are special forms of motion. At the turn of the 20th century, the greatest achievement of natural science was the discovery of the principle of motion transfer. It pointed out that the motion of matter is always transforming from one form to another. After transformation, the new form and the old form are substantially different. The reason for material transfer is internal and not external. The transfer is not caused by external mechanical drive, but by the struggle within the matter itself between two mutually contradictory elements of different nature. Due to the discovery of this law of motion transfer, dialectic materialism is able to expand the theory of material unity in the world to the history of nature and science. The world is observed not only as a matter in perpetual motion, but also as matter advancing from a lower form of motion to a higher form of motion. The world is thus observed as a development as well as a process. In other words, "the unity of the material world is a process of development." In this way, the cyclical theory of old materialism is destroyed. Dialectic materialism observes the form of motion of nature and society in a profound way and in its numerous aspects. It considers that the process of development of the world as an entity is perpetual (with no beginning and no end), but at the same time the form of the specific motion in each historical process is temporary (with a beginning and an end). This is to say that it occurs under a definite condition and disappears under a definite condition. It believes that the process of development of the world from a lower form of motion to a higher form of motion demonstrates both its historical and temporary characteristics. But at the same time, no one form of motion is in a perpetual long stream (a long stream with no beginning and no end). Based on the principle of opposition and struggle (the reason for motion), the form of each motion always moves to a higher level. It moves straight forward, but as far as each individual form of motion is concerned (or as far as each specific process of development is concerned), the motion may change its direction, or may be backward. When the advancing motion is combined with the retreating motion, the resulting motion is a complex helical motion. The new form of motion occurs as an opposite to the old form of motion, but at the same time the new form of motion preserves

many elements of the old form of motion. The new things grows out of the old. New forms, new characteristics and new attributes emerge from the disruption of continuity, or from a break-through, but the link and the mutual relationship between things and events cannot be absolutely destroyed. Finally, dialectic materialism believes that the world has no end. This is so not only in its entity, but also in its parts. Are not electrons and atoms the same in demonstrating a complex and endless world?

The basic form of motion of matter also determines the various subjects of natural and social sciences. Dialectic materialism observes the development of the world as a forward motion from an inorganic through an organic to the highest form of matter (society). The relationship arising from this form of motion becomes the foundation of the corresponding sciences (inorganic science, organic science, and social science). Engels said: "The various kinds of science analyzes a special form of motion or the mutual relationship of a series of forms of motion. Thus classification of science is to arrange and classify various motions according to the original order of motion. Only on this point can classification be meaningful."

The entire world includes human society and the motions of matter in various forms. Therefore, we cannot forget the various forms of motion of matter. There is no so-called "matter in general," or "motion in general." In this world, there are only concrete matter and motion in various forms. "Matter and motion are only simple terms. In these terms we include all things and events sensed by us according to their common characteristics." (Engels)

The above is the theory of motion of the world in dialectic materialism or the principle of world development. This thinking is the essence of Marxist philosophy. It is the proletarian outlook of the universe and methodology. If all the proletarian revolutionaries use this explicit science as a weapon, they will understand this world and can rebuild this world.

#### (7) Theory of Time and Space

Motion is a form of material existence. Space and time are also forms of material existence. Moving matter exists in time and space, and the material existence of time and space is the premises of the motion of matter itself. Time and space cannot be separated from matter. "Matter exists in space" is to say that matter itself has the characteristic of expansion. The material world is a world in which there exists the characteristic of expansion. This is not to say that matter is placed in a non-material empty space. Space and time are not independent non-material things. They are not subjective forms of our senses, but forms of existence of the objective world. They do not exist outside of matter; nor does matter exist outside of them.

Regarding space and time as a form of material existence is a thoroughly materialistic view. This concept of space and time is basically opposite to the following idealistic concept of space and time:

- (1) Kantian concept of space and time: Space and time are not regarded as objective reality, but objective forms of intuition.
- (2) Hegelian concept of space and time: The concept of developing space and time is approaching absolute concept.
- (3) Machian concept of space and time: Time and space are different kinds of senses, and "tools for harmonizing experience."

All these idealistic viewpoints do not accept the objective reality of time and space. They do not accept the fact that the concept of space of time, during its own development, reflects the form of materialistic existence. These erroneous theories have been refuted by dialectic materialism one by one.

On the problem of space and time, dialectic materialism must not only struggle with those idealistic theories, but also struggle with mechanical materialism, especially Newton's theory of mechanics which regards space as an immobile, empty frame with no relationship to time, and puts matter into this empty frame. Opposing this theory, dialectic materialism points out that our concept of space is developing. "Aside from moving matter, there is nothing else in the world. If moving matter is not in space and time, there will be no possibility of motion. Man's concept of space and time is relative, but when all these relative concepts are put together, they become absolute truth. These relative concepts are developing uninterruptedly along the line of absolute truth, and are approaching closer and closer to absolute truth everyday. Man's changing concept about space and time can never overthrow the objective reality of the two. This is similar to the fact that the changing character of scientific knowledge about the form of motion and matter cannot overthrow the objective reality of the external world." (Lenin)  
The above is the theory of time and space of dialectic materialism.

#### (8) Theory of Consciousness

Dialectic materialism maintains that knowledge is a product of matter, a form of development of matter, and a special characteristic of a definite state of matter. This materialistic and historical theory of consciousness is basically opposed to the viewpoints of all idealists and mechanical materialists concerning this problem.

According to Marx, consciousness originally develops from the inorganic world which has no consciousness to the animal world which has a low level of consciousness, and finally to mankind which has a high level of consciousness. The high level of consciousness is inseparable not only from the physiological development of the high nervous system, but also from the social development of labor and production. Marx and Engels have emphatically pointed out the dependence of consciousness upon the development of material production and the relationship between consciousness and human language.

The so-called consciousness is a special characteristic of a definite form of matter which constitutes a complex nervous system. This kind of nervous system can only occur in a high stage of natural evolution. In the entire inorganic, vegetative and low animal world, there is no possibility for consciousness to occur internally as well as externally, that is, the possibility of self-reflection, or the possibility of understanding the process of self-reflection. The objective physiological process in our nervous system parallels the subjective expression which, internally, takes the form of consciousness. To objective things, this physiological process is a process of certain matter, but to the material body equipped with a brain this process is, at the same time, subjective psychological behavior.

There is no such thing as the spirit of the substance of a special thinking. There is only the matter for thinking--the brain. This matter for thinking is a matter of special quality. It develops to a high degree along with the development of language in the social life of mankind. This kind of matter possesses the ability to think as its special characteristic--a characteristic that other matters do not possess.

However, the vulgar materialists maintain that thinking is a matter derived from the brain. This viewpoint distorts our concept in regard to this problem. It is necessary to know that thinking, emotion, and conscious behavior are not things which have such characteristics as weight, expansion, etc. Consciousness, weight and expansion are different characteristics of the same matter. Consciousness is an inner state of matter in motion, and reflects the special characteristic of the life process which occurs in moving matter. This special characteristic cannot be separated from the process of objective nervous function, but is also the same as that process. If the two are confused, the special characteristic of consciousness is obliterated. This is the viewpoint of the vulgarized materialism.

Similarly, the mechanical theory of the fake Marxism agrees with the opinion of certain capitalist rightists in the field of psychology. They, in fact, obliterate consciousness. They consider consciousness, a physiological process, as a special characteristic of a high-level substance, without seeing that consciousness is a product of social practice of mankind. They equate the subject with the object, and replace both with one-sided mechanical objective world. This viewpoint which confuses consciousness with physiological process is hardly different from eliminating the basic problem of thinking and existence in philosophy.

Menshevik idealism attempts to use a compromising theory to replace Marxist epistemology. It harmonizes materialism with idealism, using the "alliance" of objectivism and subjectivism to oppose the principle of dialectics. But their principle is neither mechanical objectivism, nor idealistic subjectivism, but the principle of concrete objective and subjective history.

There is also the strange theory of Plekhanov who maintained that matter is alive. His remark "rock also has consciousness" fully expresses his opinion

that consciousness does not occur in the process of development of matter, but exists in all matter at the very beginning. Later, it exists in low-level organic bodies and man, different only in degrees. This type of anti-historical opinion is also basically opposed to the viewpoint of dialectic materialism which regards consciousness as possessing material characteristics. Only the materialist theory of consciousness is the correct thought regarding the problem of consciousness.

#### (9) Theory of Reflection

To a thorough materialist, just regarding matter as the origin of consciousness is not enough. One has to accept that matter can be known to consciousness.

Concerning the problem as to whether or not matter can be known, it is a complex problem, so complex that all the old philosophical schools were unable to resolve it. Only dialectic materialism can correctly resolve this problem. The position of dialectic materialism is opposed to the non-cognizable theory, and different from the blunt theory of realism.

Hume and Kant's non-cognizable theory separates the cognizing subject from the object. It believes that it is impossible to go beyond the limits of the subject--an unsurpassable ditch between the "self-existing" matter and its image.

Mach's reality theory equates the object with feelings, maintaining that truth has established its complete form in feelings. At the same time, Machists do not understand that feeling is the result of external action. Nor do they understand the positive function of the subject during the process of cognizance, that is, the transformation work done by external action in the sense organs and the brain (or the formal expression of image and perception).

Only the reflection theory of dialectic materialism affirmatively answered the question of cognizability, and this answer becomes the "soul" of Marxist epistemology. This theory points out that our images and percepts are not only induced by objective things, but also reflects them. It also points out that images and percepts are neither products of the voluntary development of subjective bodies as the idealists say, nor symbols of objective things as said by those who maintain that nothing is cognizable. Such images and percepts are reflections of objective things, photographs, or copies.

Objective truth exists independent of subjective bodies. Although reflected in our feelings and percepts, objective truth does not take a complete form immediately. The form is completed step by step. It is a mistake to think that objective truth has taken a completed form in our feelings. Truth is gradually acquired. The blunt theory of reality is wrong.

Although objective truth does not take the completed form all at once in our feelings and percepts, it is by no means non-cognizable. The reflection theory of dialectic materialism opposes the theory of non-cognizability.

It believes that consciousness can reflect objective truth during the process of cognizance. The process of cognizance is a complicated one during which the unknown "self-existing thing," as it is reflected in our image and percept, becomes "my thing." Feelings and thoughts are not what separate us from the external world as Kant said. They are, in fact, links between us and the external world. Feelings and thoughts are reflections of the external objective world. Thoughts (images and percepts) are nothing but "material things that have appeared and transformed in man's brain." (Marx) During the process of cognizance, the material world becomes more intimately, more accurately, more many-sidedly, and more profoundly reflected in our cognizance. To wage a two-front struggle against Machism and Kantism is the task of Marx epistemology.

The dialectic materialist reflection theory maintains that our ability of knowing the objective world is limitless. This is exactly opposed to the opinion of those who believe that human ability to know is limited. However, we are not close to the absolute truth. Every time, we come to a line defined by history. Lenin said: "The approach of our knowledge to the objective absolute truth is limited by history, but the existence of this truth is absolute, and the fact that we are continuously getting closer to the truth is also absolute. The external form of a picture is historically conditional, but the existence of the objective reality which is the model of that picture is absolute. We accept the fact that man's knowledge is limited by historical conditions and that truth cannot be acquired once and for all, but we are not those who believe that things are not cognizable. We do not accept that truth can be completed in the historical movement of man's cognizance." Lenin also said: "Let us not understand the reflection of nature in man's thoughts in a rigid and absolute way. Cognizance is not motionless, or without contradictions. Cognizance is perpetually in the process of motion, that is, the perpetual process of movement of the occurrence of contradictions and the resolution of contradictions." The movement of cognizance is a complicated movement full of contradictions. This is the opinion of the dialectic materialistic epistemology.

In epistemology, all philosophies reflect the historical viewpoint, and none regards cognizance as a process. All these viewpoints are therefore narrow. The narrowness of the theory of experience creates a gap between feeling and percept. The narrowness of rationalism causes percepts separated from feeling. Only dialectic materialism which regards cognizance as a process (the theory of reflection) thoroughly eliminates this kind of narrowness and places cognizance in a materialistic and dialectic perspective.

The reflection theory points out that the process of reflection is not limited to feelings and images. It also exists in thoughts (in abstract concepts). Cognizance is therefore a moving process from feeling to thinking. Lenin once said: "Cognizance which reflects nature, is not a simple, direct, and total reflection. It is a formation process of many abstract thoughts, concepts, etc."

Meanwhile, Lenin also pointed out: "The cognizance process from feeling to thinking is a flying and leaping action." On this point, Lenin precisely

clarifies the experience and rationality elements in cognizance and the viewpoint of dialectic materialism concerning their mutual relationship. Many philosophers do not understand that the movement of cognizance is a sudden change occurring in the moving process from feeling to thinking (from image to concept). Therefore, to understand this sudden leaping change produced from contradictions is to understand the dialectic unity concerning the unity of feeling and thinking. This is the most essential element for understanding the substance of Lenin's reflection theory.

#### (10) Theory of Truth

Truth is objective, relative, and absolute. This is the materialist dialectic theory of truth.

First of all, truth is objective. Accepting the reality of matter and the opinion that matter is the origin of consciousness is the same as accepting truth being objective. That is to say, the objectively existing material world is the only source of our knowledge or concepts, and there is no other source. Only idealists deny the independent existence of the material world separated from man's consciousness--this is the basic principle of idealism. They maintain that knowledge or concepts are produced by the subject body, and the object body is unnecessary. Therefore, they accept subjective truth and deny objective truth. This does not conform to facts. Any knowledge or any concept which does not reflect the regularity of the objective world is not scientific. It is not objective truth, it is only subjective, self-deceiving superstition or delusion. The purpose of mankind is to change the environment. All practical actions, whether they are productive or not, are commanded by thoughts (knowledge). If these thoughts do not coincide with objective regularity, then the latter is not reflected in the brain of man. If the objective regularity did not form the contents of man's thoughts or knowledge, his action will certainly not be able to bring him to his goal. The so-called subjective errors in revolutionary movements indicate this situation. (The reason why Marxism becomes the scientific knowledge of revolution is that it correctly reflects the actual regularity of the objective world. It is the truth of the objective world.) All anti-Marxist thoughts are wrong because they are not based on objective regularity and are completely subjective imagination. Some people said that whatever is generally accepted is objective truth. (Subjective idealist Bogdanov so said.) According to this viewpoint, religion and prejudice are also objective truth, because although they are absurdities, they are accepted by the majority of people. Sometimes correct scientific thoughts cannot compete with these absurdities. Materialist dialectics is fundamentally opposed to this. It believes that only the knowledge that correctly reflects objective regularity can be called truth and all truth must be objective. Truth and absurdity are absolutely opposed to each other. In order to judge whether a knowledge is truth or not, it is only necessary to see whether it reflects objective regularity. If it does not agree with objective regularity, then no matter whether it is accepted by everyone, or no matter how it is widely supported or enthusiastically described in a revolutionary movement, it must be treated as erroneous or absurd.

As materialist dialectics accepts objective truth, it accepts absolute truth. When we say the contents of knowledge reflecting the objective world, we are saying that the object of our knowledge is that perpetual and absolute world. "Knowledge of truth concerning nature is perpetual and infinite; it is, therefore, absolute." (Engels) Objective absolute truth does not become our knowledge all at once in its entirety. We reach absolute truth through the endless process of development of our knowledge through numerous introductions of relative truths. The aggregate of numerous relative truths is the expression of absolute truth. The common denominators of human thinking lead us to absolute truth. Absolute truth is the accumulation of relative truths. During each stage of scientific development, new seeds are sown into the sum total--the absolute truth. The element of truth in each scientific principle is relative. Absolute truth can only be expressed through innumerable relative. Absolute truth can only be expressed through innumerable relative truths. If not expressed through these innumerable relative truths, absolute truth has no way of being known. Materialist dialectics does not deny the relativity of knowledge. However, this is only to point out the limitations of objective truth as far as history is concerned. We are not saying that knowledge itself is only relative. Scientific knowledge is different from errors. The former shows and describes the objective absolute truth. This is the viewpoint of dialectics concerning the relationship between absolute truth and relative truth.

There are two viewpoints. One is metaphysical materialism and the other is idealist relativism. Both are wrong on the problem of mutual relationship between absolute truth and relative truth. Based upon the cardinal metaphysical principle "the material world does not change," the metaphysical materialists believe that man's thinking also does not change. They believe that in the process of human knowledge, the never-changing world is known to man all at once. That is to say that they deny absolute truth, which they say, is acquired by man in one stroke. They regard truth as motionless, dead, and not developing. Their mistake does not lie in that they accept absolute truth. In this respect, they are correct. Their mistake lies in their failure to understand the historical nature of truth, in their not treating the acquiring of truth as a process of cognizance, and in their failure to understand that absolute truth is released step by step during the process of development of human knowledge. Each forward step in this process shows some contents of absolute truth. As far as the entire truth is concerned, each forward step has its relative significance. Metaphysical materialist opinion on truth is an extreme view in epistemology.

Another extreme concerning the problem of truth in epistemology is idealist relativism. They deny absolute truth and accept only its relative meaning. They believe that a scientific discovery does not contain absolute truth, and hence it is objective truth. Truth is regarded as subjective and relative. Because of this, all erroneous theories have their right of existence. Thus imperialist aggression of weak nations and exploitation of the working masses by the ruling class become truths because truth is subjective and relative anyway. The result of denying objective truth and accepting subjective truth

has, of necessity, brought about this kind of conclusion. The original purpose of idealist relativism is to defend the ruling class. For instance, the purpose of relativist pragmatism (or empiricism) is exactly so.

In view of the above, neither metaphysical materialism nor idealist relativism can correctly resolve the problem of the mutual relationship between absolute truth and relative truth. Only materialist dialectics can give the correct answer to the problem of the mutual relationship between thinking and existence. With this answer, the objectivity of scientific knowledge is affirmed, and the meanings of absolute truth and objective truth are correctly understood. This is the theory of truth of materialist dialectics.

#### (11) Theory of Practice

(There is no text for this section in the original manuscript. There is no explanation for its absence. Editor)

### Chapter III Materialist Dialectics

In the last two chapters, the two problems "idealism and materialism" and "dialectic materialism" were discussed. Dialectics was briefly mentioned. Now let us discuss this subject systematically. The Marxist world outlook (called outlook of the universe) is dialectic materialism, not metaphysical materialism (or mechanical materialism). This difference is a serious heaven-turning earth-shaking problem. What is the world? From ancient times to now, there are three answers. The first is idealism (be it metaphysical idealism or dialectic idealism). It maintains that the world is created by mind or the God. The second is mechanical materialism. It denies that the world is mind's world, and maintains that the world is a material world, but the material is not developing and not changing. The third is the Marxist answer which refutes the first two, maintaining that the world is not created by our mind, and not made of undeveloping matter. Instead, it is a developing material world. This is dialectic materialism. The Marxist way of looking at the world is to turn the image in man's eyes around. Is it not a great earth-shaking argument? The argument that the world is a developing material world has long existed in ancient Greece, but due to limitations at that time, it was only simply and generally stated. It was called simple materialism. If there were no such argument, it would be impossible for science to have a foundation. This argument is basically correct. Later, Hegel created dialectic idealism, maintaining that the world is developing, but is created by mind. His theory is idealist development theory. His theory of development (dialectics) is correct, but his idealist development theory is wrong. In the West, in the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries, the idealism of the bourgeois class in France and Germany is mechanical idealism. They were right in saying that the world is a material world, but very wrong in saying that the world is moving like a machine, and that it has only quantitative and positional changes without qualitative changes. Marx inherited simple materialism and transformed mechanical materialism and dialectic idealism into historically unprecedented and scientifically based dialectic materialism, which has become a weapon for the proletariat of the world and for the revolution of all oppressed people.

Materialist dialectics is a Marxist scientific methodology, a method of cognizance, as well as a world outlook. The world is basically a developing material world. This is a world outlook. Using this world outlook to look at the world, to study the problems of the world, to direct revolution, to work, to produce, to direct warfare, and to argue with other people is a methodology. In Marxism, world outlook and methodology are one thing. Dialectics, epistemology, and logic are also one thing.

We wish to talk about dialectics systematically. It has many categories, many rules, and many principles (these terms have the same meaning).

What are the rules of materialist dialectics? Among these rules, which are the basic ones, and which are the subordinate ones but indispensable in materialist dialectics? What are the unresolved problems? What are the side issues?

Why these laws are the original rules of the objective world rather than subjectively created? Why do we wish to understand and learn these laws?

This complete theory of materialist dialectics was created by Marx and Engels. Lenin developed this theory. With the triumph of the socialist revolution in Russia and the world revolution, this theory came to a new stage of development, and its contents were further enriched. The categories contained in this theory are as follows:

The law of unity of contradictions;

The law of mutual changes between quality and quantity; and

The law of negation of negation.

The above are the basic laws of materialist dialectics. All these laws were negated by metaphysical philosophy (philosophy opposed to the theory of development), although the ancient Greeks had simply but unsystematically pointed out the meaning of some of the laws, and later Hegel developed these laws along the idealist line. It was Marx and Engels who transformed the Hegelian laws into the most basic portions of the Marxist world outlook and methodology.

In addition to the above laws, there are the following related categories:

Substance and phenomena;

Form and content;

Cause and effect;

Bases and conditions;

Possibility and reality;

Accidental and inevitable; and

Chain and link.

Some of these categories have been emphatically studied in metaphysics and idealist dialectics, others have only been partially studied, and still others were new categories proposed by Marxism. When these categories are in the hands of Marxist revolutionary theoreticians and practitioners, their idealist and metaphysical cloak is ripped off, their one-sidedness is overcome, and their true form is discovered. As time advances, their contents are greatly enriched to become the important elements of scientific methods. Combining these categories and the aforementioned basic categories, a complete and profound materialistic dialectical system is formed.

All these principles and categories are not created by man's thoughts, but original principles of the objective world. All idealists say that matter is created by spirit. In their eyes, philosophical principles, rules, or categories are of course created by the mind. Hegel, who developed dialectic system, looked at dialectics in this way. In his eyes, dialectics is not a rule abstracted from the history of nature and society, but purely rational system of the mind. After this system is created by man's mind, it is then applied to nature and society. Marx and Engels ripped off Hegel's mythical cloak and got rid of his idealism, putting dialectics in the place of materialism. Engels said: "Dialectical rules are abstracted from natural and human history, and they are nothing but the most general rules of development of natural and human history. In essence, they may be summarized into the rule of mutual change of quality and quantity, the rule of unity of contradictions, and the rule of negation of negations." Dialectical rules are rules of the objective world, and at the same time they are also rules of the subjective mind. Rules in human mind are nothing but reflections of the rules of the objective world through practice. As we have said before, dialectics, epistemology and logic are one and the same thing.

Why do we learn dialectics? We learn dialectics in order to transform this world, and to improve the old relationship between man and man and between man and matter. In this world, most people are suffering. They are controlled by a few people and oppressed by various political and economic systems. People living in China are under inhuman dual oppressions--national and social. We must change this old relationship in our strife for national and social liberation.

Is it necessary to learn dialectics in order to rebuild China and rebuild the world? Since dialectics is the most general principle of development of nature and society, if we understand it, we shall have acquired a scientific weapon, and we shall be equipped with a theory and method suitable to our practice of transforming the nature and society. Materialist dialectics itself is a science (philosophical science). It is the starting point of all sciences, and it is also methodology. Our revolution is also a kind of

science, called social science or political science. If we do not understand dialectics, we will not be able to do our work well. All mistakes in revolution were due to violations of dialectics. If we understand dialectics, great and powerful effect will be generated. If we analyze things that have been done correctly, we find that they were done according to dialectics. Therefore, all revolutionary comrades, and first of all the cadres, should carefully study dialectics.

Some people say that there are many people who understand dialectics and are actual materialists. Although they have never read books on dialectics, they are always right in their work, and they always follow the materialist dialectic method. In this case, it is unnecessary for them to study dialectics. Materialist dialectics is a complete and profound science. Those revolutionaries who are endowed with materialistic and dialectical brains may learn dialectics through practice, but their knowledge is not systematical, not so complete and so profound. As a result, they are unable to see the bright future of their movement, to analyze the complicated process of development, to grasp the important links in politics, or to deal with all aspects of revolutionary work. Therefore, they still have to study dialectics.

Some people say that dialectics is profound and hard to understand, and that it is impossible for an ordinary person to learn dialectics. This kind of talk is also wrong. Dialectics consists of principles of natural and social thinking. Anyone who has some social experience (experience in production and class struggle) knows some dialectics. Those who have more social experience will know dialectics more. But their knowledge is scattered and confused, and falls within the realm of common sense. To enhance their common sense about dialectics and put it in order is not difficult. The reason why people think dialectics is difficult is lack of good books on dialectics. Many of the books published in China are either poorly written or not well written. So much so, people are afraid to read those books. Books interpreting dialectics should use popular language and intimate experience. I believe that this kind of book will be written eventually in the future. This lecture of mine is not good either because I myself am a beginner in the study of dialectics, unable to write a good book. Probably I can in the future. This is only a wish. It may become true, depending upon the progress of my study.

- ° War of Resistance University, No 6, Chapter 1, 8 April 1938  
No 7, Chapter 2, 6 May 1938  
No 8, Chapter 2, 22 May 1938

- \* "Democracy," Vol 1, No 1 (Chapter 1) March 1940  
Vol 1, No 2 (Chapter 1) 20 March 1940

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CSO: 4005

TO AMERICAN FRIENDS OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE

1938

[Text] American Friends of the Chinese People  
168 West 23rd Street  
New York City, N.Y., U.S.A.

Dear Friends,

We are enclosing a circular announcement of the 8th Route Army Trustee Committee and wish to appeal for your special support for a very urgent cause.

Of course we know that you have carried on numerous activities in supporting the cause of world peace and obtaining aid for China. This time in addition we appeal to you to divert part of your support for a region where untold suffering and need exist. This region--North and Northwest China--is becoming more and more the base for large scale partisan and guerilla warfare against Japan, especially in the rear of the enemy. The 8th Route Army and the partisan-peasant detachments here have been fighting hand in hand in this region for more than a year and are in urgent need of help.

All sorts of help is needed. Medical and surgical supplies, warm winter clothing, blankets, and funds are required. The wounded must be taken care of in the rear of the enemy. Supplies must be sent to them constantly and this takes funds and supplies in large quantities. Just to transport one wounded soldier from the Shansi front to a base hospital it takes \$800.00. Many operations have to be done without anesthesia. No pain-killing drugs are to be had. Bandages, gauze and antiseptics are not to be had in sufficient quantities. The refugees are constantly coming in and are mostly women and children. Their menfolk have joined the partisans and their families must be taken care of. Funds for their relief are urgently needed. A million and one needs can be listed so that any help will go a very long way.

We appeal to your organization to help in collecting medical and surgical supplies to care for the wounded and the refugees. Any contributions and supplies can reach us thru the China Defense League, Hong Kong, China, or thru your national organization if especially marked for the 8th Route Army Trustee Committee.

With greeting, MAO TSE-TUNG, Hon. Chairman

LI FU-CHUN, Chairman

## INAUGURAL STATEMENT OF THE 8TH ROUTE ARMY MILITARY-POLITICAL JOURNAL

2 January 1939

[Text] As the war of resistance against Japan is proceeding toward a new stage of development, the colleagues of the 8th Route Army are publishing this "Military-Political Journal." Its significance is obvious: for enhancing the strength of the 8th Route Army in the war against Japan and, at the same time, for providing our friendly forces and people engaged in the war of resistance with the experience of the 8th Route Army.

During the 1 and one-half year war of resistance against Japan, the 8th Route Army, under the leadership of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and the commanding officers of our war zone, under the leadership of Commander-in-Chief Chu Teh, Deputy Commander-in-Chief Peng Te-huai, officers of various departments at various levels, and in cooperation with friendly armed forces, conducted a heroic war of resistance, executed the correct strategy of fighting "basically a guerrilla war without giving up the opportunity of fighting a mobile war under favorable conditions," persisted in and developed the guerrilla warfare in North China, established many anti-Japanese bases behind enemy lines, reduced the territory occupied by the enemy, tied down a large number of enemy troops, coordinated the war of resistance waged by the main forces at the front, thwarted the enemy advance toward northwest China, boosted the morale of the people all over the country, broke up the wrong concept of those national defeatists and pessimists who said that "it is impossible to persist in fighting the war of resistance behind the enemy," and exposed the shameless rumors spread by China's Trotskyite reactionaries, the pro-Japanese Wang Ching-wei faction, and certain conservative, stubborn elements in the country.

In addition, the rear guard units, as a part of the 8th Route Army, defended the dikes along the Yellow River, and are preparing, in coordination with its friendly forces in Northwest China, to check the enemy advance in North China. All these accomplishments of the 8th Route Army are unanimously recognized and visible to everyone who has eyes to see, except those Trotskyite reactionaries, pro-Japanese Wang Ching-wei faction, and certain conservative stubborn elements. This is fully demonstrated by the fact that the enemy who not only dares not take the 8th Route Army lightly, but has developed an increasing fear of the 8th Route Army. The sincerity of the 8th Route Army in its sacrifice and

struggle for the defense of the motherland and its indomitability are plainly laid before the eyes of all the people in the entire country and the entire world. These facts are undeniable by anybody, except the reactionaries, pro-Japanese and certain stubborn elements. Numerous serialized stories and sketchy reports have been written by Chinese and foreign correspondents, observers and travellers. It is not accidental that unbiased people are willing to study the experience of the 8th Route Army. If anybody raises the question as to whether the existence and development of the 8th Route Army, which has Chinese Communist Party members as its backbone, is advantageous or disadvantageous to the Chinese nation, then we can reply in one sentence: those who say "disadvantageous" are in fact unwilling to win the war of resistance, and their allegation is nothing but absurdity which gives direct aid and comfort to the enemy.

From where do these accomplishments of the 8th Route Army come? They came from the correctness of their leadership, the heroism of their commanding officers, the support of the people, and the assistance of their friendly forces. These are the four reasons for the accomplishments of the 8th Route Army. Among these four reasons, the importance of the assistance of our friendly forces is obvious. Without the heroic resistance put up by the main forces in the front, there will be no way to conduct guerrilla warfare smoothly behind the enemy line. Without the coordination of friendly forces located behind the enemy, it is also impossible to score such a great accomplishment. The officers and men of the 8th Route Army ought to thank their friendly forces which have directly or indirectly coordinated with their war effort. Especially, they should thank the officers and men of their friendly forces who have given them different kinds of bona-fide assistance and sincere, enthusiastic encouragement. In front of the common enemy of the nation, the Chinese armed forces forgot their old grudges against each other and became intimate friends helping each other. This is the basic reason why China as a nation is not going to perish. People used to say that those who read Ko's "Chu Shih Piao" without shedding tear are not loyal, and those who read Li Mi's "Ch'en Ch'ing Piao" without shedding tears are not pious to their parents. Today we may say: those who see or hear that the Chinese armed units have forgotten their old mutual hatred and are helping each other and closely united but do not feel touched must be unpatriotic. Those who are engaged in profiteering and living off friction should do some introspection.

Does the 8th Route Army have any weakness? Yes, it does, lots of them. First of all, it is inferior to the enemy and some friendly armed units in technical equipment. This is the basic weakness of the 8th Route Army. It is also the general weakness of the Chinese armed units. Therefore, how to strengthen our technical equipment in order to defeat the enemy has become a serious task of the 8th Route Army during this new stage of war of resistance. Second, the 8th Route Army is famous for its ability to conduct guerrilla and mobile warfare, but some cadres still do not have enough understanding about the strategy and tactics for the war against Japan and their application. Up to now, the cadres in general, especially the newly promoted cadres, still lack a preliminary study about the management and

command of a modern army. Many cadres with worker or peasant background have not yet elevated their cultural standard to a necessary level. To resolve these problems is the second task of the 8th Route Army. Third, consolidation and broadening of the National United Front is the general policy to attain the goal of winning the war and rebuilding the country. The 8th Route Army has scored great achievements in this respect, but many cadres, especially the new cadres, do not have enough understanding about the United Front. In some respects, they have performed poorly in working together with friendly political parties and friendly armed units and in adjusting the relationship between different classes of society with a view to turning these relations beneficial to the war effort. Therefore, strengthening the education about United Front has become an important task. Fourth, wooing the enemy and puppet troops has long been one of the three main goals of the 8th Route Army's political work. Achievements have been made in this respect, but the Japanese language study program among our warriors and cadres and the study of various techniques for conducting propaganda among enemy soldiers and lower level officers for an anti-aggression united front are very inadequate. We had some success in wooing the Mongolian puppet troops, but further steps should be taken. Collection and study of information about the enemy and puppet forces are very important, but our achievements in this respect have not yet reached the desired degree. Fifth, one of the most difficult problems for a protracted war of resistance is the economic and financial problem. This is a difficult problem for the entire country as well as a difficult problem for the 8th Route Army. Our awareness of this problem should be elevated to a high degree. This problem has aroused the attention of certain units of the 8th Route Army, but it has not yet aroused general attention. In each anti-Japanese base, we should pay attention not only to implementing local financial and economic policies such as those we have carried out in the past, but also to possible participation of armed units in production without hampering their combat function. In relatively stabilized bases, the combat units take up the responsibility of combat, while government workers in the rear perform the duties of production. Whenever circumstances permit, combat units may also utilize opportunities to mobilize soldiers and masses to make clothes, shoes, gloves, etc. In stabilized bases, the non-combat personnel may be utilized to plant vegetables, raise pigs, gather firewood and run cooperatives. By so doing, they will, on the one hand, improve the livelihood of the troops and supplement their insufficient provisions and, on the other hand, lift the morale of the armed forces and enhance their combat strength.

The aforementioned increase of technical equipment, intensive study of strategy and tactics, correct application of the United Front policy, broadened effort at wooing the enemy and puppet armed personnel, and the participation of armed units in production movements are the important problems to which the 8th Route Army should pay attention during this new stage. The defects existing in other tasks will be conquered as improvements are made in regard to these important problems.

To further develop what has been achieved and to correct defects are the tasks of all officers and men of the 8th Route Army as well as the tasks of the

Military-Political Journal. The war of resistance is a long and cruel war. Further development of the achievements of the 8th Route Army and correction of the defects of the 8th Route Army are urgently needed to enhance the combat strength of the 8th Route Army. At the same time, it is also necessary to offer our experience to the people and our friendly forces engaged in the war of resistance. The "8th Route Army Military-Political Journal" should exert its effort for this purpose.

- ° "Eighth Route Army Military-Political Journal," Political Dept.,  
8th Route Army, National Revolutionary Army, 15 January 1939.

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CSO: 4005

## THE CHINESE ARMY SHOULD EMULATE THE RED ARMY OF THE SOVIET UNION

16 February 1939

[Text] Written at the request of the PRAVDA on the occasion of the 21st founding anniversary of the Soviet Red Army

When we hear of the 21st anniversary of the founding of the Red Army of the Soviet Union, we feel a great force standing in front of the Chinese nation and the Chinese people. This great force extends its friendly hand, willing to back us up in our anti-Japanese national liberation war. This great force is the Red Army of the Soviet Union. The Red Army of the Soviet Union has gone through 21 years of training. Its army, air force, and navy have become an unconquerable force. Under the brilliant leadership of Comrade Stalin and Marshal Voroshilov, the Red Army, due to its being the army of the workers and peasants, its impregnable technical equipment, profound military training and correct political work, not only became a bulwark for the defense of the socialist Soviet Union a long time ago, but is also a central force for the defense of world peace as well as a model for all the armed forces of the world which are willing to oppose fascist aggression. In connection with the latter point, I presume that every commanding officer and combat member of the Soviet Red Army and every Soviet citizen knows the nature of the war the Chinese nation and the Chinese people are fighting, under what difficult circumstances is this war being fought, how bright the future of this war is, and what intimate relationship this war has with the Soviet Union and the entire world. On the China side, not only the 8th Route Army but also all the anti-Japanese soldiers know that the Soviet Red Army is China's good friend, and that the Soviet Union is helping China in the war of resistance in the most realistic way. The combat experience and lessons of the Soviet Red Army are especially valuable for the Chinese armed forces and Chinese soldiers to adopt. Such experiences and lessons enable us to understand that in order to defeat Japanese imperialism, the Chinese armed forces should be correctly oriented politically. They should also be equipped with modern technical equipment, modern military training, and political work geared to national revolution. The Chinese armed forces have many strong points. During the 19-month war of resistance, these strong points have gradually caused some alarm to the enemy, and won world-wide acclaim. The Chinese armed forces should groom themselves during the protracted war of resistance against Japan until they become a powerful armed force in the world-wide anti-fascist war for expelling the Japanese from China, liberating China as a nation, and

supporting the anti-fascist war of the world. Due to historical reasons, the Chinese armed forces still have some defects. Among the important defects are their inadequate political quality, insufficient modern technology, insufficient modern military training, and especially insufficient political work and lack of a correct orientation. In all these we should emulate the Soviet Red Army. Everybody knows that our two great nations--China and the Soviet Union--have in the past 10 years established a close relationship built on their resistance to imperialist aggression. During 1924-1927, the Soviet Union and its Red Army helped China's Northern Expedition. Now they have joined hands with us in the struggle against Japanese fascist aggression. As this war against Japan is confronted with new difficulties, the friendly relations between China and the Soviet Union should be further enhanced, and the spiritual link between the Chinese armed forces and the Soviet Red Army should become more intimate. As both China and the Soviet Union are confronted with an arch-enemy, it is high time for the two great nations and two great armies to struggle together. No matter how the fascist nations step up their aggression against China, prepare to attack the Soviet Union, endanger the lives of the Spanish people, or attempt to stir up another devastating war among the major powers of the world, the future can be predicted. The final victory will never belong to the aggressors. Instead, the Chinese, Soviet, and Spanish people and all the victims of aggression will win final victory. On the occasion of the 21st anniversary of the founding of the Soviet Red Army, I, in my capacity as a Chinese and a member of the Chinese armed forces, respectfully extend my anti-fascist friendly felicitations to the Soviet people and the Soviet Red Army.

° "The Masses," (Chungking), Vol 2, Nos 17-18 combined issue, 22 March 1939

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CSO: 4005

## POLITICAL ORIENTATION FOR NATIONAL GENERAL SPIRITUAL MOBILIZATION

1 May 1939

A Talk at the Yen-an National General Spiritual Mobilization and May 1 Labor Day Rally

[Text] Comrades,

Today, a big rally is being held by all circles in Yen-an for implementing the National General Spiritual Mobilization. At the same time, today is also the May 1 Labor Day. That we hold such a great commemorative rally has a great significance.

Today is May 1. Wherever possible, all proletarians and working people in the world are holding demonstrations. Comrades, to whom do they demonstrate? To the Fascists! To the aggressors! Today all the oppressed peoples and nations in the world are holding demonstrations and rallies at various places against fascists and against aggressors!

Today, in China, all of the working class and working people, wherever they can, are holding "May 1" rallies against Japanese imperialist aggressors. At the same time, in response to the call of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, all the people, workers, farmers, merchants, students, soldiers, party workers, government workers, and people of all political parties and factions throughout the country begin their National General Spiritual Mobilization. They pledge to oppose Chinese traitors, support the war of resistance against Japan, concentrate their effort, and concentrate their will. What for? Defeat Japanese imperialism. (Applause from the audience), save China from her crisis, and transform her into a new China (Applause followed by shouting from the audience: "Down with Japanese Imperialism!" "Build a New China!"....) This is the meaning of today's rally. This is also the first point I wish to talk about.

Second, why should we have National General Spiritual Mobilization? Why does Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek initiate National General Spiritual Mobilization?

Our enemy, in order to attain its objective and carry out its plan, wants to annihilate China. The Japanese fascist militarists are mobilizing all the forces in Japan to continue their fascist war of aggression and to continue this war of bandits for slaughtering the Chinese people. China's black sheep Wang Ching-wei, his disciples and grand disciples are giving help to Japanese imperialism, and conducting activities inimical to the war of resistance. They are engaged in "topple Chiang and oppose Communists" activities. In Hong Kong and Shanghai, they are organizing what they call an "Anti-Communist National Salvation League" with Wang Ching-wei as their chieftan. They will also establish a puppet government to surrender to Japanese imperialism. As the Japanese and the Chinese traitors are so ruthless, we must proceed with the National General Spiritual Mobilization throughout the country, call upon the 450 million Chinese people to be united, boost their morale to fight the war to the end, oppose the Chinese traitors, oppose Wang Ching-wei, oppose the Trotskyites, oppose all the devilish groups and parties, support Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, support the National Government, support Kuomintang's cooperation with the Communist Party, carry the war to the end, mobilize all the forces, and win the final victory. To what extent shall we fight? We shall fight all the way to the Yalu River! (Applause) We shall recover all the lost territory! (Applause) We shall never stop until our goals are reached. Therefore, as soon as Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek launched the National General Spiritual Mobilization, the Chinese Communist Party responds to his call, and supports this movement. It is for this purpose that all the people from the party, political circles, military circles, civilians, government workers and students of Yenan are holding this rally here today to pledge our support to the National General Spiritual Mobilization. We must defeat our enemy and build a new China! (Applause followed by slogan shouting: All people of China unite! Support Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek! Carry out National General Spiritual Mobilization! Support Long-Term Kuomintang-Communist Party Cooperation! Support the Kuomintang! Support the Chinese Communist Party! Down With Traitor Wang Ching-wei! Down With the Trotskyites! Down With Japanese Imperialism! Long Live Chinese National Liberation!)

Third, talking about "country" and "nation," our country is the country of the workers, farmers, soldiers, students, merchants, and all patriotic people. It is not the country of the Japanese bandits, Chinese traitors, Wang Ching-wei and his cohorts, or the Trotskyites. Our country should exclude Wang Ching-wei and other traitors. If those who ignore righteousness and prepare to be traitors and those who spiritually capitulate to the traitors and wish to follow Wang Ching-wei, they should also be excluded. Our nation has been an independent self-respecting nation for several thousand years, and a nation which cannot tolerate domination by Japanese imperialism. In our country and nation, we can only permit the existence of an anti-Japanese government, and can never permit any traitor's government. We must defend our motherland; we must thoroughly liberate the Chinese nation. The Japanese imperialism is encroaching upon our nation's independence, and jeopardizing our national existence. We must defeat it. We must also defeat all the traitors and thieves who sell out their country and sell out their national interest. This is the principle of the "supremacy of the country

and supremacy of the nation." (Slogan shouting from the audience: Defend the Motherland, Shed Our Last Drop of Blood for the Defense of Our Motherland! Long Live the Chinese National Liberation! Down With the Traitors and Thieves Who Sell Out Our Country!)

Fourth, for the defense of our motherland and for attaining the objective of national liberation, we must win this war of resistance. The Chinese Communist Party has always advocated: "Resistance against Japan has priority over all; everything is subordinate to the war of resistance against Japan; mobilize all the forces to strive for the final victory." What does this mean? It means "military affairs first, victory first." To win the battle is our only objective. All that enables us to win a battle, and all that is favorable to the war of resistance should be done and supported. All that hampers our winning a battle, and all that is harmful to the war of resistance should not be done and opposed. We oppose all activities of the Wang Ching-wei faction, Trotskyites, trouble makers, stubborn elements and instigators. We want to knock down all those who sabotage the war of resistance. (Applause followed by slogan shouting from the audience: Resistance Against Japan Has Top Priority! Everything Is Subordinate to the War of Resistance Against Japan! Mobilize All Forces! Strive for the Final Victory! Military Affairs First! Victory First! Oppose Compromise or Surrender! Oppose Chinese Traitors and Thieves Who Sell Out the Country!)

Fifth, in order to attain the purpose of winning the final victory, fighting to the banks of the Yalu River, and recovering the lost territory, we have to unify and consolidate the thinking, will and strength of all the people of the country, and we must carry out, consolidate, and broaden the Anti-Japanese National United Front. This is what Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek calls "concentration of will and concentration of force." All people's will should be focused on one point--the final victory. Can people's will be focused on something else? Should we come to a peaceful compromise with Japan? Never. We must strive for the final victory. We must attain this goal. All of our strength must be concentrated on the anti-Japanese front. Should our strength be concentrated somewhere else? Never. Wang Ching-wei wants us to concentrate all our strength behind the traitors' front and the capitulation front. Can he achieve that? Never. Some trouble-makers and "friction experts" wish to disperse instead of concentrate our strength. Is it right? Entirely wrong. Therefore, all the will of the people should be concentrated on final victory, and all the strength should be concentrated to one place--the Anti-Japanese National United Front. This should never be violated. Those who violate this principle must be opposed, knocked down and beaten up as traitors. (Slogan shouting from the audience: Concentrate all the will on Final Victory! Concentrate All Strength on the Anti-Japanese Front!)

Sixth, in order to strive for the final victory, and consolidate and enlarge the Anti-Japanese National United Front, we must transform the spirit of all the people in the country, and get rid of all the bad and wrong things. Selfishness, cowardice, corruption, decadence...are these things good? (Audience: "No.") All these things should be removed. This is the reason why we have always promoted the hard working and struggling working style.

Traditionally, our nation has a hard working and struggling working style. We should make it manifest. We must drastically change the selfish, coward, corrupt, and decadent style prevailing among many people. The Communist Party has traditionally advocated for a firm and correct political orientation. During this war of resistance, we should correct all the erroneous thinking unfavorable to the war of resistance. First of all, we should correct all the Wang Ching-wei faction, Trotskyite, and traitorous thinking and all the anti-national thinking. We should also correct all thinking unfavorable to the war of resistance. For instance, some people say: "Marxism is not a good friend of the Three People's Principles." Is this right? No, entirely wrong. Dr. Sun Yat-sen clearly said: "Marxism is a good friend of the Three People's Principles." In violation of Dr. Sun's instructions, these people are now saying that these two political ideals are not good friends. This is a thinking in violation of the united front and a thinking in contradiction to the thinking of more than 90 percent of the working people of the country. It is an anti-national thinking. All these erroneous thinking should be corrected and eliminated so that we can have a firm and correct political orientation. This firm and correct political orientation cannot be divorced from the hard working and struggling working style. Without a firm and correct political orientation, we cannot induce a hard working and struggling working style. Without a hard working and struggling working style, we cannot carry out a firm and correct political orientation. (Applause and slogan shouting from the audience: Oppose Selfishness! Oppose Cowardice! Oppose Corruption and Decadence! Oppose Erroneous Thinking! Insist on and Affirm a Correct Political Orientation! Strictly Carry Out a Hard Working and Struggling Working Style!)

Seventh, finally, let us talk about our general policy now, the general policy for the war of resistance; that is, the Three People's Principles. The Three People's Principles is the political foundation of the Anti-Japanese National United Front. It must be carried out in full during the course of the war of resistance and national reconstruction. The Principle of Nationalism is for defeating the Japanese imperialism. The Principle of People's Rights is for the freedom of the people. The Principle of People's Livelihood is for people to have clothes to wear, rice to eat, and work to do. All these are very good and necessary. We must resolutely carry these principles out. From today on, all the people of the country should really carry out the Three People's Principles! They should not talk only; they should act! There are many people who say that they believe the Three People's Principles. From what I can see, they don't, because if one believes the Three People's Principles he will fight the Japanese to the end. But these people are preparing to surrender. Wang Ching-wei is one of those who have surrendered. True believers of the Three People's Principles do not oppress ordinary people, but they are unwilling to give people their democratic rights. True believers of the Three People's Principles take care of people's clothing, shelter and food problems, but they are unwilling to improve people's livelihood. Can these people be called believers of the Three People's Principles? (Audience: "No!") Only those who want to fight to the end, fight to the Yalu River, recover all the lost territory, refuse to surrender, never rebel against their own country can be called real believers of the Principle of

Nationalism, and loyal followers of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Principle of Nationalism. Only those who give people their democratic rights, their freedom of speech, press, assembly and association without oppressing the people, and carry out Dr. Sun Yat-sen's will for "awakening the masses" can be called true believers of the Principle of People's Rights and loyal believers of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Principle of People's Rights. Only those who make an effort to relieve the majority of the people of their suffering, such as to implement Dr. Sun Yat-sen's policy of "land to the tillers," and carry out production movement so that everybody has clothes to wear, rice to eat, and work to do can be called real believers of the Principle of People's Livelihood and loyal followers of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Principle of People's Livelihood. Comrades! All of us should be faithful believers of the Three People's Principles and good students of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. We should never be pseudo-disciples, or bad students. We should not give lip service to the Three People's Principles, and we should really implement all these three principles. What shall we call those who only talk about the Three People's Principles and do nothing? I would call them pseudo-Three People's Principles believers. We call upon all the people in the country to carry out the Three People's Principles. Let everybody be real believers of the Three People's Principles. I hope all the people in the country would carry out the Principle of Nationalism which calls for defeating Japanese imperialism, and Chinese national salvation; carry out the Principle of People's Rights which calls for helping the people, awakening the people, and giving them democratic rights; and carry out the Principle of People's Livelihood, which calls for clothes for everybody to wear, rice for everybody to eat and work for everybody to do. What the country wants to carry out is this kind of the Three People's Principles, the real Three People's Principles. We should struggle to the end for the implementation of the real Three People's Principles. (Applause and slogan shouting: Carry Out the Three People's Principles throughout the Country! Oppose Those Hypocrites Who Give Lip Service to The Three People's Principles!)

These are the reasons we hold our rally today. It is also for these reasons that the All-China People's General Spiritual Mobilization is launched. In short, we must thoroughly carry out the Three People's Principles, really carry out the Three People's Principles! Mobilize all our forces to win the final victory, fight to the banks of the Yalu River, recover our lost territory! We must drive Japanese imperialism out of China! We must establish a brand new China! (Enthusiastic and prolonged applause from the audience)

° "The Masses," (Chungking), Vol 3, No 36, 22 June 1939

\* "Guide to the Anti-Japanese National United Front," (7), Liberation Press, July 1940

## THE PEOPLE OF CHINA AND GREAT BRITAIN ARE ON THE SAME FRONT

1 June 1939

[Text] As the Chinese people's unwavering war of resistance against Japan is coming to the end of its second year, the British Aid to China Committee holds "China Week" in various places in England to demonstrate its support to our war effort. On behalf of Comrade Chu Teh, the officers and men of the 8th Route Army, and the wounded soldiers in field hospitals and hospitals in the rear, I wish to say how excited and how encouraged we feel by this kind of sympathy and concern. We respectfully thank and enthusiastically salute the British people who stand with us together on the international anti-aggression front.

China's 2-year war of resistance has shown the power of democratic forces. These 2 years of war have pointed out that even an industrially backward country which has suffered all kinds of oppression and humiliation in her national life can resist the most barbarous and brutal fascist attack with full confidence of victory. It also proves that China's war of resistance cannot be separated from the world-wide anti-fascist force. In fact, our attack against the aggressors has put our country in the foremost position in the main anti-fascist front of the international struggle for the defense of democracy and civilization in the world.

As soon as the war started, we saw the British people help our war effort with material support, donate medical supplies, send ambulance units to China, and express their sympathy on many occasions. All these serve to explain that although Great Britain is geographically far away from China, the British people are not indifferent to China's war of resistance. However, because of our position in the anti-aggression struggle in the entire world, we have the right to demand more assistance than before.

First, we demand that you strictly watch the attitude of your government, and force your government to take resolute action in ending British shipment of military supplies to Japan. Several weeks ago, the British embassy and consulate in Chungking were damaged during an indiscriminate Japanese air raid on China's wartime capital. To this humiliation the British government

responded with the weakest diplomatic gesture--a protest on a piece of paper. It is this kind of attitude that encourages Japan to wipe out British interest wherever she can. The most effective way for the British people to restrain the bandits in the Far East and at the same time help China is to put pressure on their government for immediate censure against Japan.

During the last 2 years, Japan's accomplices, Fascist Germany and Italy, collaborated in destroying world peace, tearing up international treaties, and starting a bloody and cruel war. Their activities have become a direct threat to the security of Great Britain. Here is another reason for the British people to compel their government to support China's war of resistance, and for the British people themselves to take steps complementary to China's contribution to the anti-aggression front. To oppose fascism does not call for our engagement in any particular war. The threat is universal. Therefore, we must fight it on a world-wide basis.

For example, the Japanese have recently stepped up their anti-British propaganda in their occupied areas. Therefore, for their own defense, it is necessary for the British people to help China, help that country which is at war with the enemy in the Far East.

In view of the above, may we suggest that you adopt concrete and effective measures to strengthen British policy so as to bring your action consistent with the desire of the British government and British people to frustrate the Japanese aggressors.

For our national independence and freedom and for the peace and freedom of mankind, we have resolutely struggled for 2 years. During these 2 years, the Japanese militarists utilized those shameless Wang Ching-wei-like defeatists in an attempt to sabotage our Anti-Japanese National United Front and, thereby, to sabotage our war of resistance.

However, our friends can feel reassured. During the last 2 years, the unity among the Chinese people has matured, and our determination to win the final victory has greatly strengthened. The Chinese Communist Party and the Kuomintang are more determined than ever to carry out their joint resolution --support Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek as their leader in the war of resistance. In the past, the Wang Ching-wei-like defeatists could still hide themselves in unoccupied areas in an attempt to instigate surrender. Now, they cannot cover up their true intentions any longer. They have been exposed and chased away.

Geographically, England and China are far apart, but the common desire of the two peoples to defeat Fascist aggressors has brought them together. Let us join hands to defeat the common enemy of mankind.

Let the peoples of China and Great Britain be united!

° "The Masses," (Chungking) Vol 3, No 10, NEW CHINA DAILY, 23 July 1939